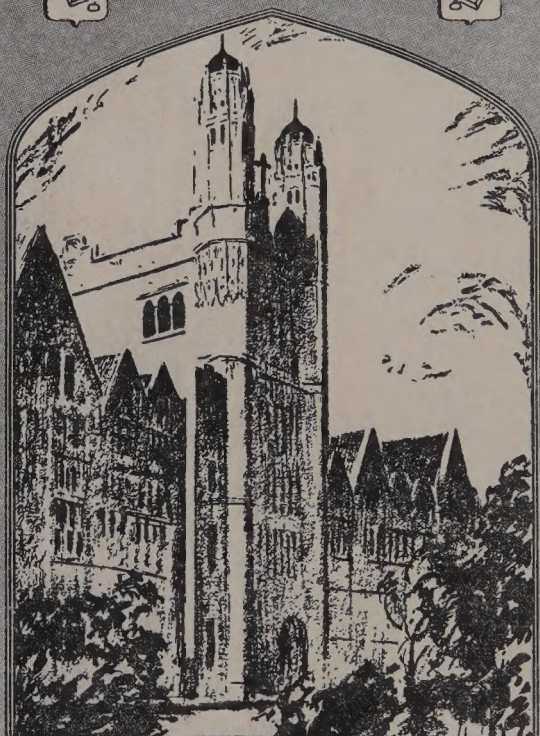






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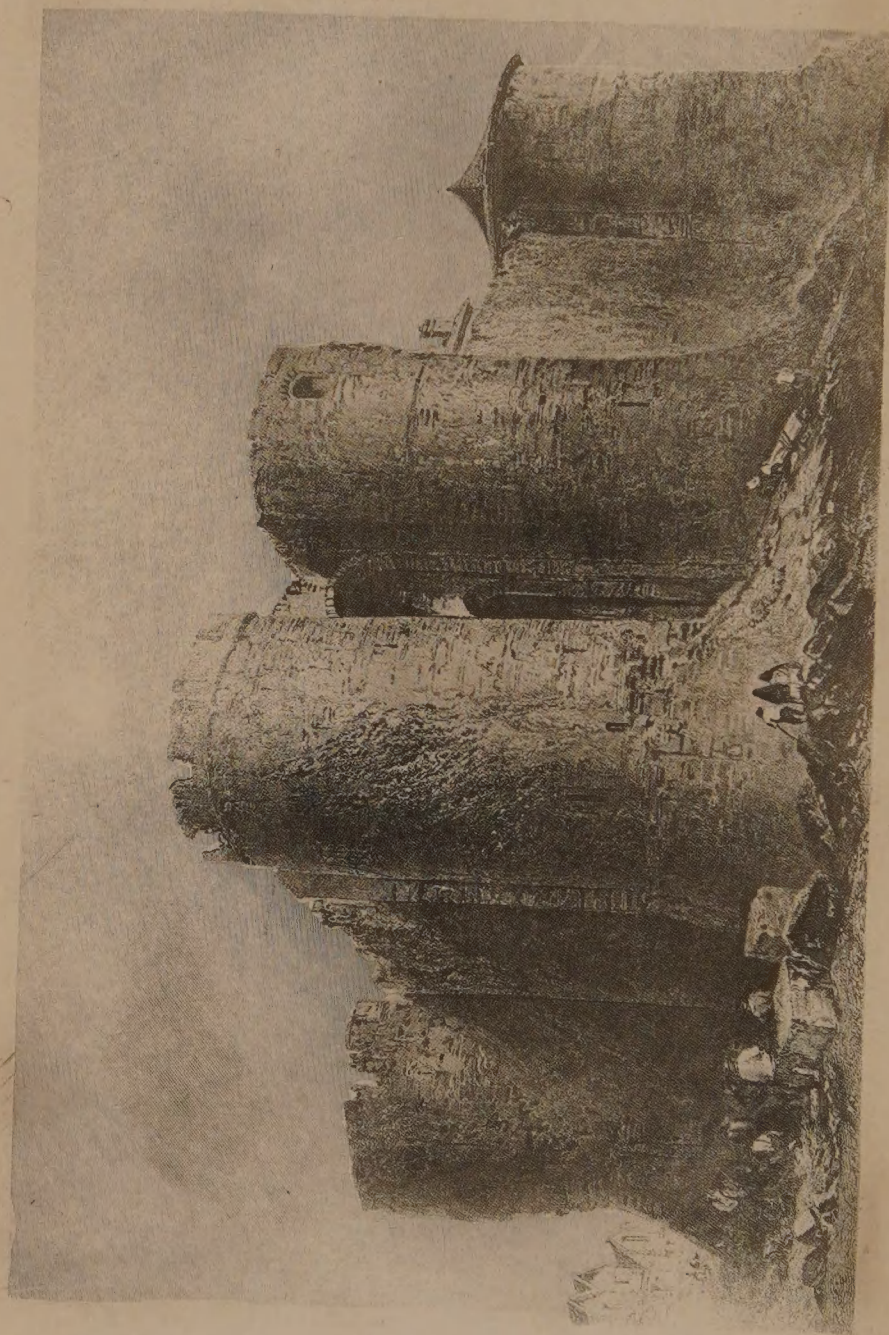














# IRELAND AND HER PEOPLE

## A LIBRARY OF IRISH BIOGRAPHY

TOGETHER WITH A

POPULAR HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND MODERN ERIN

TO WHICH IS ADDED AN

APPENDIX OF COPIOUS NOTES AND USEFUL TABLES

SUPPLEMENTED WITH

A DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES IN IRISH MYTHOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY,  
GENEALOGY, ETC., EMBRACING A PERIOD OF FORTY CEN-  
TURIES OF LEGEND, TRADITION AND HISTORY;  
WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

PREPARED AND EDITED BY

THOS. W. H. FITZGERALD

VOLUME IV

FITZGERALD BOOK COMPANY

CHICAGO

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POPULAR HISTORY  
OF  
IRELAND

COMPLETE IN TWO BOOKS

BOOK I





## PREFACE.

In preparing the present narrative the constant aim has been to present a faithful picture of Irish history, unimpaired by bias or prejudice, and to omit nothing of importance bearing on the subject which would be of general interest. A perusal of the work will, we believe, convince the reader that every period of Erin's history has been treated concisely and thoroughly, and that the narrative has not been interrupted by extraneous matter or the text burdened by a list of authorities. Copious notes on disputed points and frequent reference to the later and better authorities will be found in the Appendix to Volume V. A systematic plan has been followed throughout, making reference easy, and the search for facts in Irish history, it is believed, more of a pleasure than a task.

There is, probably, no country the truthful story of which presents so many dramatic and exciting scenes as that of Ireland. The true history of Ireland is indeed "an entertaining and instructive narrative of stirring events, abounding with episodes thrilling, glorious and beautiful."

Dry details of unimportant events, or names and dates of no special interest to the general reader, have been carefully excluded from the text. These, however, are not omitted, but will be found in the full Chronological Tables at the end of the work. The whole aim, in brief, has been to produce a vivid, clear-flowing, impartial narrative of the admitted facts in the history of a remarkable people, together with such legends and traditions of Irish lore as appear most interesting, typical and suggestive.





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# POPULAR HISTORY OF IRELAND

## CHAPTER I.

### THE LEGENDS AND FIRST INHABITANTS

B. C. 2100 TO B. C. 1105

The earliest colonization of Ireland, like that of most other countries, is wrapped in a cloud of fable. It was peopled, according to the ancient Irish chronicles, in the fourth century after the Deluge by the Partholanians; afterwards by the Nemedians, the Fomorians, the Firbolgs and the Tuatha De Dananns. All those shadowy colonies, according to the most reliable native authorities, were either swept from the earth in punishment for their iniquities or forced to submit to the brave sons of Milesius, whose posterity remained masters of the island over two thousand years.

The higher we ascend towards the source of Irish history the more obscure and doubtful it becomes. The ancient Irish, as well as their contemporaries, were prone to record the marvelous or impossible and readily accepted as true many things which modern criticism deems fabulous. But if we ought not to believe implicitly, neither should we reject altogether those curious traditions, wonderful legends and antique tales which have come down to us from the bards and story-tellers of ancient Erin. From those doubtful sources the most legitimate and reliable histories of Ireland have taken their rise "as pure rivers may be traced up the fens and mantled pools of a morass."

In these chapters on Pagan Ireland we venture to dip lightly into the enchanted fountain of old Irish chronicles, not, of course, claiming for those curious records the authenticity of modern history, yet giving nothing which has not in the judgment of many respectable authorities at least an historical foundation.

Some romantic stories are related of Queen Ceasair, who came from the east of Europe to Ireland thirty years before the Deluge (2379 B. C.) with fifty women and three men—Bith, Ladra and Fintan. The historic flood soon swept over "this curiously proportioned colony," but this far-away primitive legend is generally rejected by the judicious old annalists as unworthy of serious consideration.

Most ancient authorities agree that the Partholarians "of the stock of Japhet" were the first colonists of Ireland. Accompanied by his sons and many followers, according to the legend, the parricide Partholan, fleeing from his native Greece "in the 60th year of the age of Abraham," voyaged down the Mediterranean, passed the sunny isles of that historic sea, gazed upon the "Pillars of Hercules" in the Strait of Gibraltar, and after escaping the dangers of the rough Spanish coast, at length, when well-nigh in despair of reaching that far-off Sacred Isle, he heard the welcome cry of land. The billows dashed wildly along the shore, leaving a long line of foam upon the wild coast of Munster. The noble Kenmare river rolled its silver tide between wooded hills and sunny slopes. The picturesque Reeks pointed their blue summits in clear outline against the distant sky. Mangerton and Carrantuel, clad in royal beauty, greeted the eyes and cheered the hearts of Partholan and his companions.

The little colony landed B. C. 2100 where the

town of Kenmare now stands, amid the beautiful scenery of County Kerry. Then Partholan divided the land which he had discovered among his four sons. The new colonists set themselves vigorously to clear the plains of timber; they cut down a prodigious number of trees and drove the wild boar and stag into deeper recesses of the well-wooded island. "They brought with them a practical knowledge of sowing, reaping and other farming arts," and began to cultivate the land. Thirty years after landing in Erin, Partholan, being full of years, sickened and died, and his body was interred with royal honors. He was, it is said, a double parricide, having killed both parents before leaving his native country. For this unnatural crime, say the sage chroniclers, his posterity was fated not long to possess the land; and, after three hundred years' residence in Erin, the entire colony, then numbering 9,000 persons, was cut off by a dreadful pestilence, and the mound which is believed to cover their remains is still pointed out at Tallaght, near Dublin.

During the next thirty-nine years Ireland is represented as uninhabited; then the Nemedians, under their leader, Nemedius, arrived from the shores of the Black Sea. Nemedius, who was a distant relative of Partholan, having learned by repeated dreams of the fatal end of his kinsmen in Ireland, resolved to go there and take possession of the country. Accordingly, with thirty-four transport vessels he set sail for the Western isles, accompanied by his wife, his four sons and a thousand followers. They soon after landed on the Wooded Island, B. C. 1761, and immediately "cleared twelve plains of wood," and afterwards built two royal forts.

Nemedius, it seems, was not permitted to enjoy his new kingdom very long, when his peace was disturbed by a warlike race of giants which swarmed



over from Africa. Those savage sea-kings, called Fomorian, were, according to the legend, men of enormous size and strength, who "lived by piracy and spoil of other nations, and were in those days very troublesome to the whole world."

Nemedius fought the Fomorians successfully in many engagements, but at last he suffered a total defeat in the great battle of Tory Island, where his army was totally destroyed and his two favorite sons were slain. Unable to stand so great a misfortune, Nemedius soon after died of grief and the Fomorians became masters of the whole island.

The Nemedians who had survived the last defeat, finding themselves unable to bear the tyranny of their cruel masters, resolved to abandon the country. One party fled to the north of Belgium to become the ancestors of the Firbolgs or Bagmen; some wandered to Greece to give a parentage to the Tuatha De Dananns; and others escaped to the neighboring island of Britain, which, it is said, took its name from Briotan, the Nemedian leader, who, with his posterity, settled there.

The Firbolgs, kept in cruel bondage in Belgium, determined to escape; they for this purpose seized the ships of their masters and set sail for the Western isle, where, in due time, under their chiefs, the five sons of Dela, they landed in different parts of Ireland (B. C. 1397). They, however, united their forces at the hill of Tara, which they called "the Beautiful Eminence." In the decisive battle of Tara, which quickly followed this landing, the Fomorian forces were nearly annihilated, and the savage sea-kings were soon reduced to submission in all parts of the island.

Then the Firbolgs divided the country into five provinces, governed by their five leaders. Slane, the eldest of the five brothers, dwelt at Tara as head ruler of the provinces and supreme monarch of

Ireland. The Firbolgs were in their turn disturbed of so tempting a prize, eighty years after their conquest, by a wonderful people who came from Greece, called the *Tuatha De Dananns*. "These heroes," we read, "landed on the coast of Wexford, and then, having burnt their fleet to cut off their retreat, they wrapped themselves in the dark cloud of invisibility and drifted like a mighty mist to the Iron Mountains on the border of Leitrim."

They were led by their king, Nuada, who took up a strong position on a hill, at a place called South Moytura, near the present village of Cong, County Mayo, where he was immediately attacked by his Firbolg kinsmen, under their monarch, Eocha. The attack was fierce and bloody, but after six days of terrible destruction—"the greatest slaughter that was ever heard of in Erin"—by their enchantments and by the power of their *Lia Fail*, or Stone of Destiny, according to the legend, victory remained with the *Tuatha De Dananns*; and thus this decisive First Battle of Moytura, or the Battle of South Moytura, as it is sometimes called, in one day brought the reign of the Firbolgs to an end, reducing them to the condition of a subject-race. Eocha, the last of their kings, escaped from the fatal field only to meet his doom near Ballysadare, County Sligo. A cave on the Sligo strand is still pointed out as his burial place, and there is a curious tradition that the tide can never cover it. "On the plain where this great Battle of South Moytura was fought there may yet be seen a great number of cromlechs and other sepulchral monuments."

In the time of her last Firbolg king Erin was in a position almost without parallel in her early history, for, say the bardic historians: "Good were the days of the reign of Eocha; there was no wet or stormy weather in Erin nor any unfruitful year." This happy state, however, was soon rudely brought

to a close by the De Dananns, who were also, like the Firbolgs, of Nemedian descent.

The new conquerors, it appears, came from Greece, where, by long residence, they had become deeply skilled in all those mystic arts for which the Greeks were then famous. Before their invasion of Ireland the Tuatha De Dananns had passed through the northern countries of Europe, where, according to the legend, "their magical science procured them respect." From those parts they brought the famous Lia Fail. This stone, which gave to Ireland the name of Inisfail, or the Island of Destiny, was used at the coronation of their kings. During the ceremony an astonishing noise is said to have issued from it, and, according to tradition, wherever this stone should be preserved a king of the Irish race would reign. We are told that among other rare gifts the Tuatha De Dananns could forge magical weapons, cure malignant diseases, quell storms, and even raise the dead to life. By these wonderful arts they were enabled to crush the brave Firbolgs into submission and to exercise sovereignty over all Ireland.

Nuada, the Tuatha De Danann king, lost his right hand in the last great battle with the Firbolgs, and, in consequence, came near losing his kingship, for his warlike subjects refused to recognize a mutilated sovereign. Nuada in this dilemma applied to Cert, his artificer (a man renowned for mechanical skill), to help him out of his difficulty. Cert fashioned for his royal master a silver hand of great beauty and wonderful workmanship, and the king's physician, according to the legend, then took it off and infused feeling and motion into every joint and finger of it, as if it were a natural hand, and henceforth the monarch became known as Nuada of the Silver Hand.

While Nuada's hand was being made the throne

was occupied by a chief named Breas. The new king soon became very unpopular. He was not hospitable, he tried to oppress the nobles and had the bad taste to slight the bards. Discontent came to a climax when a popular bard visiting the royal court was rudely received by King Breas. The indignant bard soon left the palace, but not before pronouncing a terrible satire on the king—"the first satire," we are told, "that ever had been pronounced in Erin." The consequences were dire to Breas, who was immediately called on to resign, which he did with the worst possible grace. The silver hand of Nuada being now finished, he at once re-ascended the throne. In wrath Breas withdrew to the Hebrides, where he roused up a vast army and navy under Balor of the Mighty Blows, a Fomorian chief of great renown.

Balor and Breas, after effecting a landing on the northern coast, marched their formidable army to a place called North Moytura, in the present County of Sligo, and there the two leaders awaited the attack of the Tuatha De Danann forces, which soon appeared and promptly gave them battle. The magical skill or superior fortune of the Tuatha De Dananns proved equal to this crisis, and the invaders were totally defeated. Their renowned chief, Balor of the Mighty Blows, slew Nuada of the Silver Hand, but Balor himself was killed by the great Tuatha De Danann hero, Luga Long Arms, who, after the battle, was proclaimed monarch of all Ireland. The Plain of the Fomorian Towers is still pointed out to the curious as the place where this decisive Second Battle of Moytura, or Battle of North Moytura, was fought, and ruins of sepulchral monuments yet mark the site of that ancient battlefield. "The Three Sorrowful Tales of Erin" are among the most famous of Ireland's poetic legends. The first of these belongs to the reign of



Nuada of the Silver Hand—"The Tale of the Fate of the Sons of Turenn."

The three sons of Turenn—Brian, Ur and Urcar—slew Kian, father of the renowned De Danann hero, Luga Long Arms. Kian and the sons of Turenn had long been at deadly feud, and when the latter chanced to meet him alone on the plain of Louth they cruelly stoned him to death, turning a deaf ear to his pleading to spare his life.

"Six times the sons of Turenn buried the body of their victim, and six times the earth cast it up again, but on the seventh burial the body remained in the grave. As the sons of Turenn rode from the spot a faint voice came from the ground, warning them that the blood they had spilled would follow them to the fulfillment of their doom.

"Luga Long Arms, seeking for his father, came to the grave, and there the stones of the earth took voice and told him that his father lay beneath. Luga unearthed the body and vowed vengeance on the sons of Turenn over it. He then hastened to Tara, to the court of Nuada of the Silver Hand, and denounced the sons of Turenn. In those days the friends of any murdered person might either receive a fine, called 'eric,' in compensation, or might seek the death of the murderer. Luga called for the 'eric.' He demanded three apples, the skin of a pig, a spear, two steeds and a chariot, seven pigs, a hound-whelp, a cooking-spit and three shouts on a hill. To this 'eric' the sons of Turenn agreed readily enough before all the court. Then Luga explained himself more fully. The three apples were to be plucked from the garden of Hisberna, in the east of the world. They were the color of burnished gold, and of the taste of honey, and cured wounds and all manner of sickness, and had many other wonderful qualities. The garden of Hisberna was carefully guarded and none were allowed to



take its precious fruit. The pig-skin belonged to the King of Greece and possessed the power of healing whosoever touched it. The spear was a venomed weapon with a blazing head, belonging to the King of Persia. The two steeds and chariot belonged to the King of Sicily. The seven pigs were the delight of Asal, King of the Golden Pillars, for they could be killed and eaten one day, and become alive and well the next. The hound-whelp belonged to the King of Iroda, and every wild beast of the forest fell powerless before it. The cooking-spit belonged to the warlike women of the island of Fincara, who never yet gave a cooking-spit to any one who did not overcome them in battle. The hill on which the three shouts had to be given was the hill of Midkena, in the north of Lochlann, the country of the Danes, which was always guarded by Midkena and his sons, who never allowed any one to shout on it.

“The sons of Turenn were much daunted by this terrible ‘eric,’ but they were bound to fulfill it. They set sail in an enchanted canoe, the Wave Sweeper, to the garden of Hisberna, and succeeded, by turning themselves into hawks, in carrying off the apples. They then visited Greece in the guise of learned poets from Erin, and after a desperate fight overcame the King of Greece and his champions and carried off the pig-skin. Leaving the shores of Greece ‘and all its blue streams,’ they sailed to Persia, where they had to fight another battle with the king before they could carry off the blazing weapon in triumph. They then voyaged to Sicily, overcame its monarch, and drove off the famous chariot and horses. Next came the turn of Asal, King of the Golden Pillars, but their fame had gone before them, and Asal gave up his seven pigs without a contest. He even accompanied them to Iroda, and aided them to obtain the hound-whelp.

“Meanwhile the fame of the successes of the sons of Turenn had come to Erin, and Luga Long Arms cast a magical spell over them, so that they quite forgot the cooking-spit and the three shouts on a hill, and came back to Erin thinking that they had fulfilled their ‘eric.’ But when Luga saw their spoils he reminded them of the unfulfilled part of the compact, and the heroes had to set out again with heavy hearts, for they knew that Luga desired their death. When Brian got to the island of Fin-cara, which lies beneath the sea, his beauty so pleased the warlike women that they gave him a cooking-spit without any trouble. Now all that was left to the heroes to do was to shout the three shouts on Midkena’s hill. They sailed out into the north till they came to it, and there they fought desperately with Midkena and his sons and overcame and killed them. But they were wounded themselves nigh unto death, and with the greatest difficulty they raised three feeble shouts on Midkena’s hill. Then, wounded as they were, they sailed back to Erin and implored Luga to let them taste of the apples of Hisberna, that they might recover. But Luga taunted them with their murder of his father and would be content with nothing short of their death; so they died, and the blood of Kian was avenged.”

The Tuatha De Dananns remained in power in Erin nearly two hundred years. Three brothers—Ethur, Cethur and Fethur—were their last kings. These reigned alternately a year each during thirty years. Since the Tuatha De Danann conquest Ireland had been called Inisfail, but when the three brothers became kings it was named alternately Banba, Fola and Eire—in honor of the reigning king’s wife.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MILESIAN CONQUEST (B. C. 1120).

The last conquerors of Pagan Ireland were at different periods of their history called Gael or Gaddians, from Gaddas, one of their remote rulers; Phenicians, from King Phenius; and Scots, from Scota, the wife of Milesius, a king of Spain. The ancestors of the Milesians, according to the old annalists, in remote antiquity established themselves on the borders of the Red Sea. When Moses was preparing to liberate his people from cruel bondage Gadelas, king of the colony, having been bitten by a serpent, was presented to the great leader, who healed him by a touch of his wand. We are told that Moses foretold, on curing Gadelas, that the land which should be inhabited by the Gadelians would be free from serpents and all venomous reptiles, "which," says a discreet historian, "has been verified in regard to Ireland." In gratitude for this great cure Gadelas supplied Moses and the children of Israel with provisions after their passage of the Red Sea. This act so incensed the Egyptians that they afterwards expelled the Gadelians from the country. The latter, after some time, settled on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, which country in time became known as Phenicia, from Phenius, one of the most famous of the Gadelian kings.

Some centuries later a colony of the Phenicians left their own country and settled in Spain. Under the able command of Breogan the new-comers fought the Spaniards successfully and became masters of

the northwestern province, where Breogan built a city, which he called Braganza, from his own name.

King Breogan had two sons, Ith and Bile. The latter was the father of Milesius, who in his turn became king of the colony. Soon after ascending the throne Milesius extended and strengthened his dominions (called Galicia) by diplomacy and successful wars and then concluded an advantageous peace with his enemies.

Milesius now resolved to visit the land of his ancestors for the purpose of learning those abstruse arts and sciences for which Egypt was then celebrated above all other nations. On his arrival King Pharaoh gave him the chief command of the royal army in a war in which he was engaged against the Ethiopians. The Spanish hero acquitted himself with such skill and success that the war was brought to a speedy close. As a reward for his services Pharaoh gave Milesius his beautiful daughter Scotsa in marriage. Before leaving Egypt Milesius caused twelve young men of his suite to be instructed in all the arts, sciences and mysteries of the Egyptians, so that they might instruct his subjects on their return to Spain. The great object of his journey being ended, Milesius bade farewell to the king and all his court, and accompanied by his nobles, his wife and attendants, he returned to Spain.

A dreadful drought now cast its gloom over all Galicia. King Milesius summoned all his chief men to assemble at Braganza to deliberate on the grave situation. It was unanimously resolved by the assembly to abandon Spain and seek the most western island of Europe, which one of their famous druids had long before prophesied would be possessed by the posterity of Milesius for all time.

The important discovery of this island was intrusted to Ith (son of Breogan and uncle of Milesius), who was a man of great wisdom and pru-



dence. Ith having accepted the commission, set sail for the unknown isle with his son Louy and a large force of warriors and sailors.

The enterprising Spaniards soon landed on the Irish coast, but before advancing far inland they were attacked by the Tuatha De Dananns, and after a sharp struggle Ith fell mortally wounded, and the men from Spain were forced to retire. Louy barely escaped with a few companions and immediately embarked for home. In the meantime Milesius, after reigning thirty-six years in Galicia, died, universally mourned by all his people.

The Milesians, on the return of the expedition, without delay prepared themselves not only to avenge the death of Ith but also to conquer the Western isle, of which Louy had given a glowing account. Accordingly, a fleet of sixty vessels was equipped with all things necessary for so important an enterprise, and the entire colony embarked, under forty leaders, among whom were the eight sons of Milesius, their mother, Scota, and Louy, the son of Ith. After coasting along a part of Spain, France and England, they at length arrived off the coast of fair Inisfail, B. C. 1120.

While the invaders were preparing to land the Tuatha De Dananns were not idle; but, according to the legend, surrounded themselves and their beloved island with magic-made tempests and terrors. They darkened the heavens and wrapped the Milesian fleet in thick folds of impenetrable mist; they shook the invading ships with terrific storms, scattering and destroying most of them on the raging waves. But the Milesians had their druids or magicians also. Amergin, one of the sons of Milesius and a druid by profession, as soon as he suspected the agency which caused the storm began practicing counter-acts of magic, in which he soon succeeded, but not before five of his brothers had perished.



The remaining sons of Milesius—Heber, Here-mon and Amergin—with all their attendants, effected a landing at last near Slieve Mish Mountain, in Kerry, but they were immediately attacked by a large force of the natives, commanded by Queen Éire, wife of Fethur, the Tuatha De Danann king. The warlike queen, after losing a thousand men, was put to flight by the invaders. The latter lost three hundred warriors in the battle, besides Scots, some druids and many chiefs. Queen Scots was buried beneath a royal cairn at the foot of Slieve Mish Mountain, near the “sad sea waves,” and her grave is still pointed out in a valley near Tralee, called from her, Glen Scots.

After this first advantage the Milesians laid plans for a decisive campaign. In a few days the hostile armies met on the plain of Tailton (now Teltown, in Meath). A well-contested and bloody battle followed, the issue of which was for a long time doubtful, prodigies of valor being performed on either side. Towards evening, when their three kings—Ethur, Cethur and Fethur—and their three queens, together with their principal chiefs, had fallen, the brave Tuatha De Dananns were thrown into irrevocable confusion and hopeless rout. This great battle was decisive: by its result the sovereignty of Ireland passed into the hands of the Milesian conquerors.

And thus the Tuatha De Danann dynasty passed away, leaving many a curious legend of magic and mystery among the people. After their overthrow they retired to the fastnesses of the wooded hills and mountains, and in those secluded places they were believed for centuries to have practiced diabolic arts befitting such accomplished magicians. A very curious ancient Irish MS. states that some of them lived as spirits and fairies, with human and material forms, but endowed with immortality. The Tuatha

De Dananns are believed by many to have left in Ireland numerous evidences of their existence in the form of raths, or forts, and monumental pillars.

“To this heroic period belongs the second sorrowful tale of Erin, the tale of the Fate of the Children of Lir. After the victory at Tailton, in which the Milesians conquered Ireland, the defeated Tuatha De Dananns from all the provinces assembled together and chose Bove Derg supreme king. Lir alone among the chieftains refused to acknowledge the new monarch and sullenly retired to his own territory. Some of the chiefs called for vengeance on Lir, but Bove Derg resolved to win his allegiance by friendship. For this purpose the king offered Lir the choice of his three foster daughters—Eve, Eva and Alva—in marriage. On this Lir relented, recognized the authority of Bove Derg, and married Eve, who bore him one daughter, Finola, and three sons, Eed, Ficia and Conn. Eve died. Lir for a time was inconsolable, but on the advice of Bove Derg he married the second foster daughter, Eva. The new stepmother grew jealous of Lir’s love for his children and wickedly turned them into swans. This, however, did not satisfy her. She laid this further doom on the children: that they must pass 300 years on Lake Darvan, 300 years on the Sea of Moyle, and yet 300 more on the Western Sea. Nor was the spell to be loosened until the sound of a Christian bell was first heard in Erin. The only mitigation of their sufferings was the privilege of retaining their human voices. The wicked stepmother was punished by Bove Derg by being turned into a demon of the air, but the children of Lir had to endure their sad fate for the nine appointed centuries until the coming of Christianity, when they were disenchanted by St. Kemoc. In their human form they were very old. The saint baptized them and they died and went to heaven.”

After the battle of Tailton the Milesians formed alliances with the Firbolgs, who materially assisted them in the final subjugation of their late masters, for which they were partly restored to their ancient possessions. Amergin, being a druid, could not reign, so Heber and Heremon divided the sovereignty of Ireland between them, Heber ruling over the southern and Heremon the northern part. They made Emer, son of Ir (one of the five Milesian princes who had perished in the storm), ruler over Ulster, and important possessions in Munster were assigned to Louy, son of Ith, and finally, in consideration of the aid rendered them in the conquest, Heber and Heremon bestowed on their Firbolg allies the greater part of Connaught and also territories in Leinster. Some of the Firbolgs afterwards became provincial kings of Leinster under the Milesians, and for many centuries they also ruled as kings of Connaught under the Milesian monarchs.

The two brothers ruled together a year when Heber, influenced by the importunities of his ambitious queen, declared war against Heremon. The two armies met at Geashill, near the present Tullamore, Kings County. The battle of Geashill was long and well contested, but at length Heber and his chief officers fell and the victorious Heremon assumed supreme command. He took up his residence in Leinster, where he built a magnificent palace on the bank of the River Nore, and another at Tara, and after a reign of fourteen years as sole monarch of Ireland, he died near the present village of Ballyragget, in Kilkenny.

"The ancient rath," says a modern historian, "where King Heremon was interred still exists, and is now called Rath Beagh." We are told that the descendants of Heremon became the kings and chiefs of the ancient provinces of Meath and Leinster, and that many of them also ruled over Ulster,

Munster and Connaught; that the posterity of Emer ruled over Ulster as kings and chiefs for many centuries; that the descendants of Heber ruled chiefly over Munster, but that some of the posterity of Louy also became kings and chiefs of Munster.

To these four sources the principal Celtic families of royal blood and ancient lineage in Ireland delight to trace their origin, "and to this day the favorite name for an Irishman in poetry and romance is a Milesian."

## CHAPTER III.

### DAWN OF AUTHENTIC HISTORY (B. C. 372).

From the Milesian conquest of Ireland, more than a thousand years before the birth of Christ, till its conversion to Christianity in the fifth century by St. Patrick, besides the provincial kings and chieftains of particular districts, over one hundred supreme monarchs are mentioned whose sway extended over the whole island. The history of Ireland, according to the old annalists, during this long period of one thousand five hundred years, is largely made up of civil wars and foreign invasions, but numerous events, marking the gradual advance of civilization, are also chronicled, together with a vast number of fanciful legends, some of which are curious specimens of ancient romance.

According to various authorities, King Heremon was succeeded by three of his sons, who reigned jointly. Irial the Prophet, another son of Heremon, next ascended the throne. He promoted agriculture, caused seven royal forts to be built, and introduced many useful improvements. He wrote a history of the Gadelians, which was finished by his son and successor, Eithriel.

The latter was deposed by Conmaol (a grandson of Heber), whose military genius shone forth in twenty-five victories. In the reign of Tiernmas, which ensued, the public worship of idols was first introduced into Ireland, and gold and silver mines discovered. "In his time," says Keating, "the colors of blue and green were invented and the peo-



ple began to be more polite in their habits and set off their dress with various ornaments." Tiernmas established a law that the rank of every person should be known by his garb: the dress of a slave was to be of one color, that of a soldier of two; a commanding officer was permitted to wear three; the garb of a gentleman who kept hospitable tables for the entertainment of strangers was to be of four colors; five colors distinguished the nobility and chieftains; historians and persons of eminent learning were permitted to wear six, and royalty was confined to seven colors.

Tiernmas set up the great idol Crom Cruach in the Plain of Adoration (in the present County of Leitrim) and was, it is chronicled, with a vast multitude, on the night of All Hallow Eve, miraculously struck dead while worshipping it.

Ollav Fola, the thirteenth monarch from Tiernmas, shed lustre on his reign by establishing the assembly of the chief men of the kingdom every three years at Tara for the purpose of deliberating on public affairs and passing laws. Tara henceforth became the seat of government as well as the usual residence of the monarchs. This triennial convention at Tara, called the General Assembly, was held in the royal residence. During the meetings the most perfect order was observed, each member taking his place according to rank and dignity. Fola caused many excellent laws to be passed for the security of person and property, the distribution of justice and the recording of historical events. The historians presented the annals of their patrons to the General Assembly of Tara for examination. These annals, after undergoing the severest scrutiny, were copied into the general records of the kingdom, called the Psalter of Tara. At these meetings also the historical records of the nation were carefully examined and corrected and the result entered in



the great national register. The scrutiny of family and national annals and their adoption into the national archives continued until the Anglo-Norman invasion in the twelfth century.

The great legislator, Ollav Fola, also established the law which made employments and offices hereditary in families; sons were restricted to the occupation or trade of their fathers. He assigned lands for the support of the hereditary druids, who were also the judges, bards, teachers and historians. This celebrated lawyer established a great university at Tara for the study of philosophy, astronomy, poetry, music, medicine, history, etc., and died there after an illustrious reign of thirty years. Thirty-two monarchs are now enumerated in the Irish annals as possessing the throne in succession, though they often obtained it by usurpation and acts of violence.

It is related of the thirty-third monarch from Ollav Fola, Louy the Fawn by name, who had slain his two predecessors on the throne, that a certain druid, who had the gift of prophecy, foretold the future monarch's father, Daire, that he would have a son whose name should be Louy, and who would one day wear the crown of all Ireland. After this Daire had in succession five sons, and that he might not miss the fulfillment of the prediction he gave each of them the name of Louy. When the five sons had grown to manhood their father went to the druid and inquired which of his sons was destined to be monarch of Ireland. The druid told him to take them on the morrow to Taiton (now Teltown, in Meath), where there was to be a great gathering of the chief people of the kingdom, and informed him that, while the people were assembled, he would see a fawn running over the field, which would be pursued by the whole company. Daire's five sons, the druid said, would join in the pursuit and one of

them would overtake and kill the fawn; he it was who would reign over the whole island.

Daire followed punctually the directions of the druid, and when he came the next day with his sons to Tailton he found a great concourse of people gathered there, and almost at the same moment he saw the fawn running over the field. The whole multitude broke up and joined in the pursuit of the fugitive, and were of course joined by the five brothers. The chase was long and tiresome, but just as they reached the Hill of Howth a mist, raised by enchantment, threw them off the pursuit, with the exception of Daire's five sons, who continued to hunt the fawn far into Leinster, where one of them overtook and killed it. He henceforth received the name of Louy the Fawn and soon ascended the throne of Tara. After a reign of seven years this monarch also met a violent death.

Then three princes of the province of Ulster—Hugh the Red, Deehorba and Kimbath—for some time struggled for the crown, all three claiming equal right to be monarch. At length it was arranged between them that they should reign in turn for eleven years each. Hugh the Red reigned first, and at the end of his period was drowned in the River Erne, leaving an only daughter, named Macha of the Red Tresses. Deehorba then reigned for eleven years, and Kimbath followed. When the time for resigning the crown arrived it became a question who should succeed Kimbath. Macha claimed the right to reign in her father's stead, but Deehorba protested against a woman being the ruler over men, and, aided by his five sons, he endeavored to enforce his claim against the red-haired princess by an appeal to arms. But Macha was a high-spirited lady; many of the Irish chiefs took her part and she raised a powerful army and entirely defeated her enemies in a great battle, Deehorba being among

the slain. His five sons, however, not discouraged, raised another army and again met the princess in the field, but they were defeated more signally than before, and were so closely pursued that they were obliged to conceal themselves in the woods and marshes of the country. Macha now arranged the dispute with Kimbath by marrying him and making him king.

She then, according to the legend, having received information where the five brothers were concealed, determined to go herself and effect their capture; previous to which she stained her hair and took the dress of a peasant girl. She followed the five brothers into Connaught, and after many strange adventures, related by the bards, she succeeded in capturing them, by a singular stratagem, in the woods of Burrin.

The council of the kingdom, heartily tired of the civil war which had divided it, condemned them all to death, but the queen caused the punishment to be remitted, and instead compelled them to erect a stately palace in Ulster, in which the kings of her race should in future keep their court. Macha drew the plan of this palace with a pin which served to bind her cloak, and hence it was called, in Irish, the Pin of the Neck of Macha. This celebrated building, known to the general reader as the Palace of Emania, became so noted in Irish history that not only were the native rulers of Ulster henceforth for centuries called Kings of Emania, but the date of its erection became a technical one in the Irish annals. With the erection of this palace (nearly 400 years B. C.) Tierna, one of the most judicious of the early Irish chroniclers, claims the dawn of authentic Irish history begins.

The palace of Emania was the residence of the kings of Ulster and the resort of the famous Knights of the Red Branch for nearly eight hundred years,

when it was finally reduced to ruins by the three Collas. After the death of Kimbath his queen, Macha, reigned as supreme ruler of Ireland for seven years, when she was slain by her successor, Raghta.

## CHAPTER IV.

HEROIC PERIOD (B. C. 372 TO A. D. 159).

Raghta, who had seized the throne of Tara from Macha, whom he slew, was, after some years, also slain by Ugony the Great, who had been fostered by Kimbath and Queen Macha. Ugony, who was a direct descendant of Heremon, showed himself, by his wisdom and vigor, worthy of the crown. He soon became celebrated for the prudence of his government and the extent of his power. Up to this time from remote antiquity Ireland is represented as having been divided into a kind of pentarchy under five different kings, one of whom was usually, by mutual consent or by force of arms, accepted as superior lord over the other four. Kings and chiefs were selected on a system which rejected primogeniture. The Irish people united with the principle of legitimacy the principle of election, and not the eldest but the most gifted or popular member of the family was chosen.

Ugony's influence with the General Assembly of Tara enabled him to abolish the pentarchy and substitute in place of the four subordinate provinces twenty-five petty kingdoms or lordships, which he divided among his twenty-five children. He exacted from his subjects an oath, according to the usual Pagan form, "by the sun and moon, the sea, the dew, and colors, and all the elements visible and invisible," that the sovereignty of Ireland should not be taken from his descendants forever; and he induced the four provincial kings not only to



surrender their right of succession in favor of his family, but he made them promise by the same solemn oath not to accept a supreme monarch from any other line. This division of the greater portion of Ireland into twenty-five parts, under so many vice-roys, entirely broke down the power of the four subordinate but often independent provinces, and continued for over three hundred years, when the provincial kingdoms were again restored by Achy the Sigher.

Ugony reigned thirty years, during which he carried his victorious arms far out of Ireland, till his power is said to have been acknowledged all over Western Europe. Among the most remarkable of the succeeding monarchs was Maen, who, having been driven into exile by his uncle, Corvac, son of Ugony, lived for some time in France. Maen returned to Ireland with two thousand foreigners, landed on the coast of Wexford, and marched to the royal residence, which he attacked at night, killing the monarch, Corvac, and thirty of his nobles. He then seized the crown, and, having reigned eighteen years, was, according to the usual rule among those ancient kings, slain by his successor.

The pages of the old annalists now become more barren than usual and for a long period few events of note are recorded. A long series of names of monarchs is given, who generally met violent deaths at the hands of their successors. One of those sanguinary monarchs, named Achy (surnamed the Sigher for the sorrows he endured), flourished not long before the Christian era. His three sons rose in rebellion against him and were all killed and their heads laid at their father's feet. He abolished Ugony's twenty-five petty kingdoms and restored the former four provinces, over each of which he appointed a king tributary to himself. To one of these, the King of Connaught, he gave in marriage



his gifted daughter, Meave, celebrated by the old bardic chroniclers for her beauty, immorality and masculine bravery. After the death of her husband Meave reigned alone as Queen of Connaught for ten years and then married Oilioll the Great, chief of the Clan Morna (a warlike Firbolg sept), and had him share with her the throne.

Meave erected in Connaught the celebrated Palace of Cruchain, where she lived in a style of great splendor and magnificence. During her reign a seven years' war broke out between Ulster and Connaught, which formed one of the favorite themes of the ancient bards. During this long struggle the heroes of Clan Morna, under Meave and the Red Branch Knights of Ulster, led by the young hero Cuchullin, were arrayed against each other and performed marvelous feats of valor. In one of the old historic tales Queen Meave is represented as wearing a golden crown, seated in her war chariot, at the head of her heroes, and dashing into Ulster and sweeping before her the cattle from the rich fields of her enemies to her domain across the Shannon. Meave flourished about the beginning of the Christian era. She lived more than a hundred years, but at last the warlike queen was treacherously slain. Meave and Macha share the honor of having been the most celebrated of all the women of Pagan Ireland. Meave was alike conspicuous for her ardor, abilities and beauty, and figures as the heroine in many of the legends of that heroic period.

The first century after the birth of Christ contains another long list of Irish kings, few of whom obtained any celebrity in the ancient annals, but it is represented as a period convulsed by social revolutions, in which the best of the old Milesian blood perished.

In the reign of Creevan, towards the close of

the first century of our era, the Roman general, Agricola, was employed in the subjugation of Great Britain. At this time commerce had rendered the shores of Ireland better known than those of England. The account of the internal troubles of the Irish nation reached the general and tempted his ambition. Tacitus, the Roman historian, informs us that under pretense of friendship Agricola detained for his purpose one of the Irish provincial kings who had been driven into exile by a faction at home.

This recreant king, according to Tacitus, used every effort to induce Agricola to invade Ireland, assuring him that a single legion, aided by a few native troops, would be sufficient for the conquest of the island. But the Roman soldiers never set hostile foot in Ireland, and Creevan, so far from fearing them, led an army into Scotland to aid his allies, the Picts, against the Roman invaders, and returned to Ireland laden with rich booty. Creevan has the honor of being associated with Agricola in the immortal pages of Tacitus. He died of a fall from his horse A. D. 79, and was succeeded by Fiacha.

While the Milesians were sapping their strength in internecine wars (domestic and foreign) a large portion of the Irish people, composed of various races, were engaged in peaceful pursuits. Those who claimed descent from Gadelas considered themselves degraded were they to engage in any kind of manual labor. The cultivation of the soil and the mechanical arts were left exclusively to the subject races and the plebeian Milesians. These were ground down by the high rents and exorbitant exactions of their tyrannical rulers.

The descendants of the lower classes, who had formed part of the invasion conducted by the sons of Milesius, were held in a state of vassalage. The social degradation which the Milesian nobles forced

upon the great body of the people produced intense dissatisfaction; the oppression caused perpetual discontent, and at length the hardworking plebeians determined to strike a blow for freedom.

They confederated, and joined by the Firbolgs, the Tuatha De Dananns, and some discontented Milesian chiefs, they chose Carbry Kincait, a Firbolg, for their leader. He had the skill to assemble two of the provincial kings, their queens, the monarch Fiacha, with his queen, the chief nobility, and other leading Milesians, at a grand banquet held in Connaught, which, after a carousal of nine days, ended with the massacre of the Milesian guests. According to the ancient historians, only the three queens and three princes escaped; and the latter were yet unborn, their mothers having been spared in the general massacre and allowed to retire into Scotland, where, soon after, each gave birth to a young prince.

The success of this conspiracy led to a general civil war throughout Ireland; the Milesian monarchy was overthrown and the rebel leader, Carbry Kincait, was placed on the throne. The reign of this king lasted five years, during which Ireland, abandoned to anarchy and crime, was reduced to a state of the greatest distress, and the fullness of its misery was completed by a general famine. On the death of Carbry Kincait, his son Moran, instead of accepting the crown, abdicated in favor of the Milesian race of Monarchs, which was again restored in the person of Faradach, the son of Creevan.

The new reign was one of justice and prosperity. Moran was rewarded by the office of chief judge of the kingdom and became celebrated for his righteous judgments. His name was given to a famous collar that he had made, which judges after him were compelled to wear on their necks. This collar was said to give warning of choking by con-

tracting and pressing against the neck whenever the wearer was about to pronounce an unjust sentence. The monarch Faradach, from the wisdom with which he reigned, was surnamed the Just.

On his death he was succeeded by his son Fiacha, in whose reign a second revolt of the plebeians took place. This time Elim, King of Ulster, was induced to join in the rebellion, which led to the great battle of Moybolg, in which Fiacha was slain, and Elim became monarch of all Ireland. During Elim's reign the country was again disturbed by civil war. The nation was torn asunder by factions, all places were wasted by fire and sword, the fields remained uncultivated, and the severity of their sufferings at last made the people long for a change of rulers.

Tuathal the Legitimate, one of the three princes born in Scotland, returned to Ireland on the invitation of a powerful party, and in the desperate battle of Aichill (fought at the hill of Skreen, in Meath), he slew Elim and brought back order and prosperity to the distracted isle. During his reign Tuathal carried on a wasting war against his rebellious subjects, whom he defeated in many battles and finally reduced to submission in all parts of the island. He established himself more firmly on the throne by exacting from every member of the General Assembly of Tara a similar oath to that of Ugony the Great: that he and his posterity should never be deprived of the sovereignty of Ireland.

The reign of Tuathal the Legitimate was distinguished by vigor and consequent prosperity, and it makes a considerable figure in the Irish annals. He also took various means to increase the power of the crown and add to its possessions. With this view he obtained a grant of land adjacent to Tara from each of the four provinces, and adding them to the royal domain already held by his predecessors,



the chief kings, he formed the whole into the province of Meath as an appendage to the crown, under the title of "The Mensal Lands of the Monarch of Ireland."

In the province of Meath, thus enlarged, stood the four grand seats of the Irish monarchy: on the tract taken from Munster, Tuathal built a magnificent palace, where, on the night answering to the eve of All Saints', a great assembly was held to light fires and perform other pagan ceremonies. He built another royal palace in the portion taken from Connaught, where a second assembly was held on the first day of May, the day of the Baal fire. The third palace erected by this king stood in the district taken from Ulster, on the plains of Taelton, where, on the first of August, was held the celebrated fair and games in honor of Tailte, "the last queen of the Firbolgs," who was buried there. The Palace of Tara already has been mentioned as the scene of the National Assembly, as well as the usual residence of the monarchs.

The grand assemblies held at these palaces by Tuathal were accompanied with great splendor and magnificence. Among many measures of national improvement ascribed to this monarch, the province of Leinster alone was struck with his vengeance. Achy, King of Leinster, stood so high in the favor of Tuathal as to be given in marriage the monarch's eldest daughter, a princess of great beauty, whom the provincial king carried home with him to his palace in Leinster. After about a year's time Achy returned to the court of Tara and told Tuathal that his wife was dead, and declared that the only means of appeasing his grief for her loss was to allow him to marry her sister. Tuathal, thinking to strengthen his alliance with Leinster and thus secure the peace of Ireland, granted this request, and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp. Both



sisters, on discovering the treachery of the King of Leinster, died soon after of grief. To avenge his children's wrongs, Tuathal marched an army into Leinster and compelled Achy to sue for peace, which was granted on condition that the present and future kings of Leinster should pay him and his successors, the monarchs of Ireland, every second year, six thousand of the finest cows, the same number of ounces of pure silver, of rich mantles, of fat hogs, of large sheep, and of copper caldrons.

This disgraceful biennial tribute continued to be levied on the province of Leinster by the Irish monarchs, as an *eric* or fine, for over five hundred years, and was the prolific cause of much bloodshed and confusion, until towards the close of the seventh century it was remitted through the intercession of St. Moling. Tuathal the Legitimate reigned thirty-five years, when he was slain in battle by his successor, Maol.

## CHAPTER V.

HEROIC PERIOD—CONTINUED (A. D. 159 TO 428).

Maol, who succeeded Tuathal the Legitimate as monarch of Ireland, was, after a short reign, slain by Tuathal's son, Feelivee, surnamed the Law-Maker, who ascended the throne A. D. 163, and under whom the laws of the nation were revised and reformed. Feelivee was one of the few Irish kings who were permitted to die in peace.

The reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles, son of Feelivee and grandson of Tuathal, forms one of the most interesting epochs in the history of Pagan Ireland. His military career, his heroism and exploits furnished many a theme for the Irish bards. Conn was engaged in continual hostilities with the provincial kings. His most formidable antagonist was Eugene the Great, King of Munster, who was the most distinguished hero of the race of Heber. In the sanguinary war which broke out between Eugene and Conn, the latter was defeated in ten pitched battles and compelled to give up one-half of Ireland to the victorious King of Munster. The northern part of Ireland was then for the first time called, in Irish, Conn's Half, and the southern part Eugene's Half. This division lasted only a year, but it has ever since been preserved by Irish historians, who frequently use these names to designate the northern and southern halves of Ireland.

Eugene's ambition increased with his success and he hastened to pick another quarrel with Conn, and both parties again took the field. A spirited

account of the campaign which ensued is given in one of the Irish historical romances, from which it appears that Eugene in his youth had been obliged to fly to Spain, where he obtained in marriage Beara, daughter of the King of Castile, and he was now, in his last struggle with Conn, aided by a large force of Spaniards commanded by his Castilian brother-in-law.

The hostile armies came in view of each other at Magh Leana, but while too much confidence had made Eugene careless, Conn, because of his inferior numbers, was rendered doubly cautious. At the dawn of day Conn made a sudden attack on the men of the South while they were yet buried in slumber, and a great defeat and massacre followed, Eugene and his Spanish friend being killed, while sleeping in their tents, by Goll, son of Morna, one of the Firbolg champions of Connaught.

Two small hills near Tullamore, in Kings County, where the battle of Magh Leana was fought, are still shown, and are believed to cover the remains of the heroic Eugene and his Spanish ally.

Conn of the Hundred Battles, after a reign of twenty years, fell by the hands of assassins. He was alone without guards in his palace at Tara when fifty men, hired by the King of Ulster (whose grandfather had been slain by Conn's father), entering in the disguise of women, fell upon the hero of so many battles and put him to death, A. D. 195. From Conn descended the race of Dalriadic kings which supplied Scotland with its rulers.

Conn was succeeded on the throne of Tara by his son-in-law, Conary II., whose son, Carbry Riada, retired into Scotland about the middle of the third century and there established an Irish settlement, which was called Dalriada (or land of Riada) and its people Dalriadians. This settlement in time

grew up into a kingdom, which, after the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth MacAlpine, became the Kingdom of Scotland and gave that country its reigning family.

Cormac, son of Art (hence called Cormac Mac-Art), and grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, was the most accomplished of all the Milesian kings, rivaling in justice and excelling in wisdom the best of his predecessors. He obtained the crown (A. D. 243) after a long period of civil commotion, during which it fell into the hands of more than one usurper.

The bardic historians of his time relate the insult and injury sustained by Cormac in his youth before he wore the crown; how he was expelled from Ulster, his resentment, and the prompt activity with which he formed powerful alliances and collected together a large and well-disciplined army to recover his rights and avenge his wrongs.

They describe with great minuteness the memorable battle of Criona between the future monarch and his enemies; how by the advice of his ally, Thady, Cormac stood upon a hill which overlooked the field and saw the battle rage underneath for many hours without any advantage on either side; how the desperate valor of Luga Laga (Cormac's gigantic champion, reputed to be the greatest hero of his time) at last turned the fortune of the day; how Luga slew the usurping monarch, Feargus, and his two brothers and bore their heads in exultation from the field; how the victory was purchased with great loss of life; how Cormac's enemies, the men of Ulster, were seven times compelled to give ground, but each time they rallied and rushed up again with the fierce impetuosity of desperation; how the amazing valor and prowess of Luga could not be resisted; and Thady, at length breaking through their centre, prevented the possi-

bility of repairing their shattered forces; how at length the men of Ulster were forced to fall back in the wild disorder of headlong flight, and were pursued with tremendous slaughter by Cormac's men; and how Cormac, after the terrible battle, ascended the throne of Tara without opposition.

The reign of Cormac is usually regarded as the brightest period in the entire history of Pagan Ireland. This monarch was celebrated for his magnificence and political talents and also as a distinguished scholar and zealous reformer. He discouraged the superstitions of paganism and corrected the abuses which had crept into the literary orders. In the early part of his reign King Cormac set in earnest about the task of reducing the provincial kings to a due submission to his authority. At the point of the sword he firmly established law and order in all parts of Ireland.

During his reign the military power of the kingdom appears to have attained its highest point of perfection, under the care of Finn MacCoul, his celebrated son-in-law. He founded at Tara three great colleges—one for war, another for history and the third for law. By his order a general revision was made of the national records and annals of Ireland, which are represented as having been regularly kept in the Psalter of Tara since the days of Ollav Fola.

The ancient laws of the nation were augmented and improved by Cormac, assisted by the learned men of his court. This celebrated code remained in force in all parts of Ireland until the Anglo-Norman invasion, and in many parts of the island till the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The magnificence of Cormac's court at Tara was in keeping with the greatness of his power and the splendor of his reign. An eminent bard of the period describes, as an eye-witness, the palace of



King Cormac at Tara as being 300 feet in length, 80 in breadth and 50 in height, entered by fourteen gates, and containing a vast and splendid hall, illuminated by an immense lantern of costly material and curious art. We are told that on state occasions the king's table was laden with a rich and gorgeous service of cups and goblets of massive gold and silver, and that one hundred and fifty of the most distinguished champions of the kingdom surrounded his person and one thousand select soldiers formed his palace guard.

After a reign of forty years this accomplished king lost an eye while resisting a traitorous attack in his palace, and it being a fundamental law of Ireland that no one with a personal blemish or defect should be capable of wearing the crown, Cormac retired to a thatched cabin at Kells, where he devoted himself to literary pursuits. He composed numerous prose and poetical works, some of which are still in existence, and challenge our admiration for truthfulness and foresight.

One of these productions, which remains to us, contains admirable maxims on manners, morals and government, but the most celebrated work of this royal author, which Cormac wrote for the instruction of his son and successor, Carbry, is described by Keating as "worthy to be inscribed in golden letters for the information of princes, and as a most complete standard of policy to all ages."

At this period flourished the Feni (or Fenians) about which such marvelous stories are related by the Irish bards and chroniclers. This famous Irish militia formed the national standing army, and, established in remote antiquity, was brought to the greatest perfection in the latter part of the third century of our era. None, we are told, were admitted into the ranks of the Feni but select men of the greatest activity, strength, stature and valor, and

the entire force was well armed and admirably trained and disciplined. Each battalion had its band of musicians and poets to animate the warriors in battle and celebrate their feats of arms.

Many of the legends of this period have for their hero Finn MacCoul (called Fingal in MacPherson's poems of Ossian), the celebrated son-in-law of Cormac MacArt, and the famous leader of the Clan Baskin, as the Feni of Leinster were called. The exploits of Finn, his great strength and valor, and those of his brave companions in arms, are celebrated in the Ossianic poems and various other productions of the ancient writers, by whom they are adorned with such fables and exaggerations as have removed them almost wholly to the pages of romantic history.

The monarch Carbry, son of Cormac MacArt, became engaged during his reign (A. D. 283-296) in a desperate war with the King of Munster. The latter was assisted by the heroic Clan Baskin, and it was this sanguinary struggle that led to the famous battle of Gawra, which was long the favorite theme of the ancient bards. The cause of this war, the events which attended it and its continuance during many years, are the subjects of many of the old poems and traditional legends of the Irish people.

After the death of Finn, who was assassinated in his old age, the Clan Baskin was commanded by his son Ossian (or Oisin), the celebrated warrior and bard. Ossian soon afterwards revolted from the service of Carbry and joined the forces of Mogh Corb, King of Munster. The army of Mogh Corb, commanded by himself and his son, Fear Corb, was composed of the Clan Deagha and the Dalcassian troops of Munster, and it is stated in the Ossianic poems that a great body of warriors from Scotland, Denmark and Norway came over and also fought on the side of the King of Munster at Gawra. The

army of the monarch Carbry was composed of the men of Meath and of Ulster, together with the Clan Morna, or Connaught warriors.

The Munster forces and their allies marched into Meath, and at Gawra, near Tara, they were met by the combined troops of the monarch Carbry and there fought one of the most furious battles recorded in Irish history—a struggle which continued throughout the whole of a summer's day. During the battle the Clan Baskin was led by Oscar, son of Ossian, the Homer of the Irish. Ossian celebrated the deeds performed on that bloody day in verse, which, after the lapse of fifteen centuries, has lost none of its charm. The greatest valor was displayed by the warriors on both sides and the engagement appears to have been a drawn battle.

The heroic Oscar, son of Ossian, met the monarch Carbry in the battle, and at length fell in the terrific personal encounter which took place between them, but Carbry himself, while covered with wounds and exhausted with fatigue, soon afterwards fell by the hand of the champion Simon. Both armies numbered about 50,000 men, the greater part of whom were slain. Of the Clan Baskin, which consisted of 20,000 men, it is stated that 18,000 fell on the sanguinary field of Gawra.

Two following monarchs, who reigned jointly, perished in battle against their rebellious subjects, and the great battle of Dubcomar, early in the fourth century, placed a usurper on the throne in the person of Colla, surnamed the Noble, one of three warlike brothers. In four years, however, the rightful line was restored in the person of Muroough the Patriot, who compelled the usurper to abdicate, and the three Collas, with three hundred followers, took refuge in Scotland. They returned, after a year's absence, and being, by the intercession of the druids, taken into the confidence of the monarch,

they were enabled by him to embark in new wars to satisfy their restless ambition.

A. D. 341 the three brothers entered Ulster with a formidable army, and after an engagement said to have lasted six days, called the battle of the three Collas, they plundered and burned to the ground the splendid palace of Emania. They deprived the people of Ulster of the greater part of that province, seized the territory for themselves and expelled the old inhabitants.

Little need be said of the succeeding monarchs until we come to the reign of Niall of the Nine Hostages, "so called from the pledges which he wrung from nine different nations." This famous king, ancestor of the illustrious O'Neills of Ulster, ascended the throne of Tara A. D. 381.

Niall, after having carried over an army to Scotland to assist the Dalriadic colony against the Picts, joined in a still more formidable invasion of Britain, then left defenseless by the retreating Romans. Not satisfied with this, or perhaps his appetite for plunder sharpened by the rich booty which he carried home, Niall soon afterwards invaded France, from which he brought to Ireland large numbers of captives with his plunder. Among these captives was a youth of sixteen, who afterwards became illustrious as the Apostle of Christianity to the Irish.

In a second expedition to France Niall was assassinated by one of his own followers. He was succeeded by his nephew, Dathy, a brave, adventurous commander, who followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, and not only ravaged the coast of France, but marched inland until he reached the foot of the Alps. There he was killed by lightning and his soldiers immediately returned, bringing with them to Ireland the body of their king, who was interred with great pomp under a red pillar-

stone in the grand cemetery of the pagan kings at Cruchain, in Connaught. Dathy reigned twenty years; he was the last monarch of Pagan Ireland. He was succeeded on the Irish throne by his cousin Leary, a son of Niall of the Nine Hostages.



## CHAPTER VI.

### CHRISTIANITY (A. D. 432 TO 800).

The time had now arrived when the Sacred Isle of antiquity was destined, under a totally new faith, to merit the appellation of the Island of Saints. Among the captives brought into Ireland by Niall of the Nine Hostages from his first expedition to France in 403, was a youth of sixteen named Succat (meaning Brave in Battle), who afterwards became known as St. Patrick.

On his arrival in Ireland he was sold as a slave to a chief named Milcho, who carried him to his home in the north, in the district now known as the County of Antrim, where he was employed as a shepherd. During six years of bondage the leisure of the young captive was constantly devoted to prayer and meditation. The principal scene of St. Patrick's devotions was the solitary mountain Slemish, "celebrated for more than one remarkable event in the annals of Ireland."

After six years of bondage Succat fled from his master, reached the southwestern coast of Ireland in safety, and there embarked in a merchant vessel which carried him home to France. Some years later, having been greatly moved by certain dreams or visions, in which he believed he had received a direct commission from God to preach the gospel in the land of his captivity, he resolved to devote himself to a missionary life. Though dissuaded by his parents and friends, he gave himself up to the church and to ceaseless study, beginning under his

relative, St. Martin, Bishop of Tours. He next placed himself under St. Germain of Auxerre, and with him and in Italy he spent several years, and became not only profoundly learned in the theological doctrines of the church, but also proficient in a variety of languages. From Italy he visited Lerins and other islands of the Mediterranean Sea, and he is said to have received from the hermit Justus, who dwelt in one of them, the famous Staff of Jesus.

In the year 431 Pope Celestine sent Bishop Palladius on a mission to preach to the Irish, among whom Christianity already had taken some hold, but paganism still was so dominant that Palladius, after a short sojourn, was forced to fly to Scotland, where he died soon after. Then Pope Celestine, considering the eminent piety, learning and other gifts of Succat, resolved to send him upon the Irish mission, and therefore consecrated him bishop, at the same time renaming him Patricius, or Father of the People (shortened in time to Patrick), which carried its dignity from the ancient times of Rome and afterwards was given to kings of France.

In the year 432, accompanied by a few chosen disciples, St. Patrick, then forty-five years old, landed on the coast of Wicklow, but being driven to his ship by the pagan population, sailed northward to a bay in what is now called the County of Down. Here the chief of the district hastened to attack the strangers as pirates, but was arrested by the impressive looks of the bishop, listened to his preaching, and was baptized with all his family. Afterwards a church and monastery were established on the site (now the parish of Saul) by the saint, and this scene of his first missionary success always continued to be his favorite retreat.

It is related that when he revisited the scene of his youthful captivity the following strange event

occurred: Two daughters of his old master, after hearing him preach, were baptized and embraced a religious life, whereupon Milcho, strongly attached to the pagan worship and perceiving that his former slave was now in authority as its successful antagonist, made a great fire of his house and goods and threw himself into the flames, the news of which coming to St. Patrick, caused him to stand for three hours silent and in tears.

When St. Patrick landed in Ireland the monarch of the island was Leary (son of Niall of the Nine Hostages), who had succeeded his cousin Dathy in 428. Having learned that the time was approaching when King Leary would hold at Tara a great pagan festival, St. Patrick resolved to go and preach there at all hazards, knowing the importance of influencing the great people of the country; so on Easter Eve, in the year 433, the day appointed for the festival, he raised his tent on the north bank of the River Boyne and kindled a fire before it. Now, it was contrary to the laws for any one to light a fire in the surrounding country at the time of the festival until the sacred fire on Tara hill had first indicated the opening of the solemnities, and when St. Patrick's fire shone afar and was presently seen by the court and nobles assembled at Tara the utmost astonishment prevailed among them, and the druids, the annalists say, told King Leary that the hostile fire must speedily be extinguished or else the man who had kindled it, and his successors, should rule Ireland forever.

The king instantly sent messengers to drag the culprit to his presence, but when St. Patrick approached within the circle of the court, so noble and impressive was his aspect that Erc, a chieftain, instantly rose up and offered him his seat. St. Patrick was permitted to preach, and Erc, and Duffa, the chief bard, were his first converts, along with Fiech,

a young bard under the instruction of Duffa, and who is believed to be the author of a certain poem (now extant) in praise of the saint.

The queen and others followed their example, but King Leary remained a pagan to the last, though St. Patrick made so favorable an impression on him as to receive the royal permission to preach wherever he wished. It was on this occasion that St. Patrick successfully used the shamrock growing at his feet as an illustration of the great doctrine of the Trinity, from which this plant came to be associated with the patron saint of Ireland and raised into a national emblem.

The pagan superstition never recovered from the blow it received that day at Tara. The bitterest enemies of Christianity were the druids, whose interest it was above all others to support the ancient belief; and many of them, believed to be magicians, are described by the old biographers as the objects of St. Patrick's miracles, and as sacrificed for their hostility.

Before leaving Meath St. Patrick attended the public games at Tailton and preached with success to the vast multitude assembled there, and soon after he proceeded to Teffia (now West Meath) and preached at the hill of Usneagh, a celebrated seat of druidism. Among his converts at Tailton was the monarch's brother, Conall, who gave him his house, in Meath, to be used as a church, and it received the name of Donough Patrick.

St. Patrick next proceeded to the present County of Leitrim, winning a conspicuous success at the Plain of Adoration, where he overthrew the sacred monolith and denounced the pagan idolatry practiced there in honor of the sun. He passed through Connaught and Ulster and afterwards through the other provinces, converting the people by thousands, ordaining priests, and building churches, schools



and monasteries. In Leinster he visited his friend, the poet Duffa.

When he entered Munster King Aengus, who already had obtained some knowledge of Christianity, received him with great reverence in his palace on the rock of Cashel, the ancient seat of the kings of Munster, and when St. Patrick was baptizing him, during the ceremony he accidentally rested the spike of his iron-shod crozier upon the king's foot, and leaning forward pressed it deeply in, inflicting a most painful wound. But Aengus, believing this to be a part of the ceremony, made no sign of suffering, and with calm and reverent demeanor allowed the unsuspecting prelate to proceed with a baptism which was at the same time a petty martyrdom. A magnificent church was afterwards erected on the rock of Cashel, the remains of which form one of the noblest ecclesiastical ruins in Ireland, and in it is still preserved St. Patrick's Stone, the table on which the kings of Munster were crowned.

In the year 455, having been twenty-three years in Ireland engaged in converting the people, the saint established himself at Armagh, and on that hill founded a city and cathedral, with monasteries, schools and other religious edifices, and thus established the See of Armagh, which became the metropolitan see and seat of the primacy of all Ireland.

About two years after the foundation of Armagh St. Patrick went over to England for coadjutors and took the opportunity to preach there against the prevailing Pelagian and Arian heresies, meeting with great success. Returning by way of Liverpool, when he came near that maritime village the people from all sides came out to meet him, and they erected a stone cross in his honor. On his voyage back to Ireland he visited the Isle of Man, where, we are informed, he found the people much addicted



to magic—an old accusation against them—for they were believed to involve their island at will in supernatural mists, so that no ships could find it. Here he preached with his usual success, and left behind him one of his disciples as first Bishop of Man.

Soon after his return to Ireland St. Patrick went to a small village (afterwards called Dublin), the people of which flocked out to meet him, and he baptized the chief and many others in a fountain, therefore called St. Patrick's Well, near to which a church was built, on the site now occupied by St. Patrick's Cathedral. He settled the church of Ireland solidly and appointed bishops and priests everywhere, well earning his title of Apostle of Ireland. He traveled continually, until too old, when he spent his last years in retirement and contemplation, though not neglecting to hold synods and councils and rule the affairs of the church.

This part of his life was passed alternately in Armagh and in the monastery of Saul, and in the latter place, where he had founded the first of several hundred churches, he expired, full of good works and honors, on the 17th of March, 465, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. His obsequies lasted through twelve successive days and nights and were attended by multitudes from all parts of Ireland. He was buried with national honors at Down, thence called Downpatrick, and a handsome church was afterwards built over his remains. The bodies of St. Brigid and of St. Columba were afterwards deposited at Downpatrick, in the same grave with the Apostle of Ireland.

The memory of St. Patrick, St. Brigid and St. Columba are held in the highest veneration as the three great patron saints of Ireland. St. Brigid (or Bridget), a lineal descendant from a brother of Conn of the Hundred Battles, was born in the year 453. She was at an early age remarkable for her humility

and Christian piety, and at length she took the veil, and, calling a number of her sex who glowed with the same devotional ardor, she established a famous monastery near a lofty oak tree, which was from this circumstance called, in Irish, Kill-dara, or Cell of the Oak, and increasing rapidly in extent from the crowds of devotees attracted thither by her sanctity, it became the nucleus of the city so well known by the name of Kildare.

In her pious retreat at Kildare St. Brigid was the sure refuge of the unfortunate, especially those of her own sex, and the island was soon filled with the reports of her charity, her benevolence and her miracles. During a long and useful life she founded numerous religious houses in various parts of the island, and her great monastery of Kildare "became in time the largest and most famous which ever existed in Ireland." St. Brigid was buried at Kildare, near the great altar of the Cathedral Church, and her monument ornamented with gold, silver and precious stones, but Kildare having been devastated by the Danes, her remains and the rich shrine in which they were contained were removed for security in the ninth century to Downpatrick, and interred there in the same sepulchre with those of St. Patrick and St. Columba.

St. Columba (or Columkill), descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages, was born in 521. Early in life he entered the celebrated monastery of St. Finnian at Clonard and soon distinguished himself above all his fellows for talents and learning and by the ardor of his religious zeal, and when no more than twenty-five years of age he founded the monastery of Doire, near Lough Foyle, from which the name of Derry was afterwards derived. He soon laid the foundation of his great monastery of Durorow, in the south of Meath, at a place called Plain of the Oak, which was long celebrated in the eccle-

siastical history of Ireland. In his forty-third year he directed his attention to his countrymen in Scotland, who were still mostly pagan.

Having obtained a grant of the small island of Iona, off the west coast of Scotland, from his kinsman, Conall, king of the Scottish colony, he proceeded thither with twelve chosen disciples and founded that famous monastery which became the star of Christianity to Scotland and the Western Isles. From Iona St. Columba made missionary journeys through the country of the Picts, whom he converted to Christianity. Afterwards the Western Isles became the scene of his most active labors.

For thirty-four years he was the great leader of Christianity in those northern regions and is regarded as the apostle of both the Picts and Scots of Scotland, where he laid the foundation of that friendly intercourse which afterwards subsisted between the Irish people and the Saxon Christians of England. Many miracles are attributed to St. Columba, who, after a life of piety and active benevolence, died in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and was buried at Iona, but his remains were a long time after removed to Ireland and interred at Downpatrick.

Iona for centuries furnished missionaries and prelates for many parts of Great Britain and the continent, and its monks, formed by St. Columba's teaching and example, took a leading part in the conversion of the Saxons, supplying the Saxon Christians of England with many bishops and priests during at least two centuries. There went out from the holy isle apostles and teachers to the Orkneys, to Iceland, to the Isle of Man, and to England, till the fame of Iona spread over the world.

After the conversion of Ireland to Christianity









the Irish clergy became pre-eminent for their learning, zeal and piety. The invasions of the Franks, the Saxons and other northern barbarians for the most part destroyed the Christian churches which had been established in England, France and other parts of Europe. The Irish people generously offered the persecuted clergy and their flocks a safe asylum. To the Island of Saints, sheltered amid the waves, came all those whom pagan violence had driven from their homes. The unfortunate people of England in particular, threatened with extermination by their Saxon conquerors, fled by thousands to Ireland for security. During the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries Ireland was proverbially the chief seat of piety and of learning, and Irish missionaries, who afterwards attained to high celebrity in the history of Europe, "flung themselves with a fiery zeal into battle with the mass of heathenism which was rolling in elsewhere upon the Christian world."

"Long after St. Patrick had been laid to rest," says Justin H. McCarthy, "his disciples carried the cross of Christ to the gaunt Scottish Highlands, the lonely German pine forests, the savage Frankish settlements, to Britain and the wild islands of the northern seas. The Irish monks wandered into the waste places of Ireland, and noble monasteries, the homes of religion and of learning, sprang up wherever they set their feet. The fathers of the Irish church were listened to with reverence in the court of Charlemagne and in the Roman basilicas, and foreign ecclesiastics eagerly visited the homes of these men—the monasteries famous for their learning, their libraries, and their secure peace.

"The island of the Sun-god had become the island of Saints. To Ireland belong St. Columban, the reformer of the Franks; St. Killian, the apostle of Bavaria; and St. Gall, the converter of Switzer-

land. One hundred and fifty-five Irish saints are venerated in the churches of Germany, forty-five in France, thirty in Belgium, thirteen in Italy, and eight in Scandinavia. For a long time all christendom looked upon Ireland as the favorite home of religion and of wisdom. Montalembert, in his great history of 'The Monks of the West,' has given a glowing account of the civilization and the culture of the Irish monasteries. There the arts were practiced—music, architecture, and the working of metals. There the languages of Greece and Rome were studied with the passionate zeal which afterwards distinguished the Humanistic scholars of the revival of learning.

"The Irish monastic scholars carried their love for Greek so far that they even wrote the Latin of the church books in the beloved Hellenic characters (and as we read we are reminded again of the old tradition of Greek descent); while, curiously enough, one of the oldest manuscripts of Horace in existence, that in the library of Berne, is written in Celtic characters, with notes and commentaries in the Irish language. It is worthy of remark that Montalembert says that of all nations the Anglo-Saxons derived most profit from the teaching of the Irish schools, and that King Alfred of England received his education in an Irish university."

"In this epoch," says Sir Charles G. Duffy, "Ireland may without exaggeration be said to have been a Christian Greece, the nurse of science and civilization. The pagan annals of the country are overlaid by fable and extravagance, but the foundation of Oxford or the mission of St. Augustine does not lie more visibly within the boundaries of legitimate history than the Irish schools which attracted students from Great Britain and France, and sent out missionaries through the countries now known as Western Europe.

“Among the forests of Germany, on the desert shores of the Hebrides, in the camp of Alfred, at the court of Charlemagne, in the capital of the Christian world, where Michelit describes their eloquence as charming the councilors of the emperor, there might be found the fervid preachers and subtle doctors of the Western Isle. It was then that the island won the title still fondly cherished, ‘*Insula Sanctorum*.’ The Venerable Bede describes nobles and students at this epoch as quitting England to seek education in Ireland, and he tells us that the hospitable Celts found them teachers, books, food and shelter at the cost of the nation.

“The school at Armagh, where St. Patrick had established the primacy of the church, is reputed to have attracted seven thousand students, and there were schools at Lismore, Bangor, Clonmacnoise and Mayo which rivaled it in importance. Monasteries multiplied in a still greater number and with results as beneficial. The arts, as far as they were the handmaidens of religion, attained a surprising development. The illuminated copies of the Scripture, the croziers and chalices which have come down to us from those days, the Celtic crosses and Celtic harps, the bells and tabernacles, are witnesses of a distinct and remarkable national culture.”

## CHAPTER VII.

THE IRISH IN SCOTLAND: THE DANES.  
(A. D. 428 TO 959).

During the period while the church was developing in strength and influence, and learning and civilization were being fostered within the walls of the religious houses, we learn from the historical annals that the Irish soil was moistened with blood which flowed from the protracted and merciless feuds of its kings and chieftains.

After the death of Leary the throne was seized by a usurper, Oilíoll Molt, who had been King of Connaught. Louy, the son of Leary, excluded from his right to the crown, gathered together his adherents to obtain it by force of arms, and the great battle of Ocha, in which the usurper was defeated and slain, fixed Louy and the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages firmly on the throne of Ireland. Twenty-five years after the battle of Ocha, which the old annalists fix as a technical period in their chronology, the three sons of Érc, with a strong force of Dalriadic warriors, went from Ireland to assist their kinsmen, the Dalriadic Scots, or Irish colony in Scotland, in their war with the Picts. The latter were defeated and gradually brought into subjection, and in A. D. 850 the kingdom of Scotland was firmly established by the union of these two peoples, the Picts and the Scots.

The Picts were the ancient inhabitants of Scotland, and Scots was the name by which the Irish were generally known from the third to the twelfth

century, during which Ireland was commonly called Scotia, and its people Scoti, or Scots; these names were in time transferred to what is now known as Scotland, or land of the Scots. From these Irish Dalriadians, through the Scottish kings and the house of Stuart, the present royal family of England is descended.

Louy reigned twenty-five years, when he was killed by lightning near Slane, at a place called the Field of Lightning, and was succeeded by Murty, a relative of the sons of Eric. After a turbulent reign, during which he fought many battles, Murty was drowned in a hogshead of wine. He is considered to have been the first Christian monarch of Ireland. His successor, Tuathal the Rough, ascended the throne of Tara in 528 and reigned eleven years, when he was treacherously slain by the tutor of Dermott, a rival, whom he had driven into exile. Dermott immediately seized the crown, and for twenty eventful years reigned over all Ireland. King Dermott was the friend and patron of St. Kieran, who had helped to conceal him from persecution during the reign of Tuathal.

During Dermott's reign occurred two celebrated events in Irish history: the foundation of the great monastery of Clonmacnoise by St. Kieran and the malediction pronounced on Tara. A criminal who had fled to the monastery of St. Ruadan, in Tipperary, as a sanctuary, was taken from his asylum by order of Dermott and executed at Tara. For this crowning act of a series of aggressions on the privileges claimed by the clergy, the aroused abbot, accompanied by his monks, hastened to Tara and walked in solemn procession around the royal palace, excommunicated Dermott and anathematized the place; and it appears from that day forth no monarch resided permanently upon the historic hill of Tara.



On the death of Dermott, who fell in battle five years after the desolation of Tara, two brothers reigned jointly and were followed by several monarchs in succession, the annals of whose reigns are too meagre and uninteresting to merit attention. Under Hugh, the fifth monarch from Dermott, occurred the great convention at Drumceat, in Ulster, to settle the claims of the Irish colony in Scotland. Through the influence of St. Columba, who came from Iona to attend the convention, accompanied by a great number of prelates, Hugh consented to abandon his claims against his countrymen in Scotland, thus establishing the independence of the colony and severing it forever from Ireland, the mother country. This reign ended with the death of Hugh in the disastrous battle of Dunbolg, in 594, while endeavoring to enforce the Leinster tribute claimed by the monarchs of Ireland since the days of Tuathal the Legitimate.

A long series of monarchs reigned during the seventh and eighth centuries, whose actions have seldom gained them more than a nominal place in history. Details of an almost ceaseless petty warfare between the provinces and between the different districts of the same province crowd the secular history of that paradoxical period, during which many of the learned and pious men who came from the Irish abbeys, disturbed by the turbulence of their countrymen, sought distinction in other lands.

The tribute which had been so long and reluctantly paid by the people of Leinster was abolished in the latter part of the seventh century through the intercession of St. Moling, and a malediction was pronounced against all who should attempt to undo what St. Moling had done. Yet within half a century the claim was revived by the monarch Farrell, who invaded Leinster with an army of 21,000 men to enforce the payment of the

obnoxious tribute. Nine thousand of the men of Leinster, led by their king, resisted the attack, and in a terrible battle fought at the hill of Almain (now Allen, in Kildare), a place celebrated in Irish romantic history, the invaders were defeated with great loss and Farrell himself was among the slain.

The chronicler says that at the commencement of the battle a holy hermit, whom they believed to be the spirit of St. Moling, stood forward in the foremost rank of the army of Leinster and in a voice of thunder declared the dissatisfaction of heaven at the impiety of Farrell and his people who had broken the engagement so solemnly entered into by his predecessor, and that Farrell's army, paralyzed with terror, immediately took flight and was slaughtered almost without resistance. In this famous battle (fought in the year 725) 30,000 men were engaged on both sides, of whom 7,000 were slain.

Until A. D. 795, in the reign of Hugh the Legislator, Ireland had been free from the northern scourge which for centuries had swept over England and the continent of Europe. But Ireland suffered in common with other countries from later incursions of pagan sea kings, popularly known as Danes. From the close of the eighth century for a long period England, Scotland, France and Ireland were equally harassed by the continuous raids of those piratical tribes from Scandinavia, from the shores of the Baltic, Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Those bold, adventurous spirits in the pursuit of plunder swept the ocean, over which their habits and numbers gave them the command. The union in which they soon learned to act in their pillaging expeditions, the ruthless barbarity with which they generally treated their captives, but, above all, the disunion and consequent feeble state in which they found Ireland, as well as those other countries upon

which they preyed, gave them great advantages. Their attack on Ireland was fierce and sudden; they burned, plundered and massacred, particularly expending their fury upon the church, breaking down the stone oratories and destroying the religious houses and schools of learning, burning the ancient books and manuscripts, melting down the bells, breaking up the croziers and pastoral staves, and driving the monks and clergy into the mountains, compelling the Irish scholars to carry their culture and philosophy to the great cities of the European continent.

Some of the Danish expeditions consisted of more than a hundred ships, filled with trained warriors, who speedily fortified for themselves the strongest positions on the coasts and laid the foundation of maritime towns. The cathedral and City of Armagh, the schools of Bangor, the cloisters of Clonmacnoise (famous for its seven churches), and many more seats of piety and learning fell into their hands. The sacred vessels of the altars were turned into drinking cups, and the missals, blazing with precious stones, were torn from their costly bindings to furnish ornaments for their sword hilts and gifts to the scalds, or bards, who sang their achievements. These merciless invaders burned monasteries, sacked churches and murdered women and priests.

Their creed was framed, like that of the Saracens, who threatened the existence of Christendom, to enlist the strongest human passions in its service. It taught that it was their right to take without stint or scruple whatever they could win by the sword, and that if they fell in battle they would be transported to a delicious country, where they would renew their warlike raids and be recreated after toil at majestic feasts in the Hall of Odin and with the blandishments of celestial nymphs.

The Irish chiefs had frequent successes against the invaders, took many of their strongholds, and compelled them to make submission from time to time, but fresh expeditions, eager for plunder, still arrived from the Baltic and renewed the struggle, which continued generation after generation, till the School of the West gradually dwindled and fell into almost complete decay before the dangers and troubles of a long internecine war.

The Irish kings, divided among themselves, were unable to oppose a common front to the enemy, and for many years the Danes held a large part of Ireland in subjection. They demanded heavy tributes in cattle and money from all whom they conquered, and those who were unable to pay were massacred or reduced to slavery. In innumerable instances while the Danes were engaged in the work of pillage they were attacked by the Irish and driven to their ships. But these successes had little effect on the indomitable energies of the Northmen, who invariably returned in greater numbers in a short time, and from their command of the seas had their choice of a landing place.

The Danes first confined themselves to predatory expeditions, but soon after they erected castles and forts near the coast to shelter their booty, until finally, encouraged by their success and the dissensions of the Irish, they resolved to attempt the complete conquest of the island. About thirty years after the first appearance of the Danes in Ireland, during the reign of the monarch Connor, a chieftain renowned for superiority of rank and daring by the name of Turgesius, arrived with a formidable body of Vikings from the northern seas. On his arrival in Ireland all the Danes who were already in the country at once acknowledged his authority, and within a short period he made himself master of a large portion of the island. He succeeded in estab-



lishing his power to a great extent for many years, during which he exercised over the people a tremendous tyranny. He had fleets of small craft, constructed for the purpose, stationed on the principal lakes in the interior, and he erected throughout Ireland a great number of castles and forts, where he kept his troops encamped, and from which they issued to ravage and plunder the adjacent territories.

Turgesius destroyed many towns, colleges and monasteries, massacred thousands of the monks and clergy, and introduced his own pagan priests and idols; he banished or killed all the Irish bards and scholars whom he captured, burned their books, and destroyed innumerable works of art. During this unhappy period Ireland was reduced to a complete state of anarchy; all civilization was retarded, but the Irish people, so far from practically uniting to expel the Danes, were generally engaged in civil war and discord among themselves. The Irish kings, so long accustomed to think only of their own personal and family interests, often rejoiced in the success of a Danish foray which laid waste a rival province, and some of them even had the baseness to enter into alliances with the common enemy.

Turgesius sometimes resided in his fortress at Dublin, but he had his chief fortress and palace on a high hill (near Lough Lene, in Westmeath); this hill forms on one side a high, precipitous rock, so that his stronghold was almost inaccessible and impregnable; "some of the earthen ramparts still remain, and to this day the story of Turgesius is told in the traditions of the people." Turgesius, it is said, in the insolence of his power, made to Malachy, King of Meath, the dishonorable proposal of demanding his beautiful daughter as a concubine. The King of Meath, powerless to openly resist, pre-



tended to agree to the proposal, but by a well-planned stratagem he got introduced to the tyrant fifteen brave and well-armed youths disguised as women, who made Turgesius prisoner and opened the gates of his fortress to the forces of Malachy. These massacred all the Danish guards, carried off Turgesius himself, bound in chains, and drowned him in Lough Ennell, and soon after, on the death of Niall of Callan (the titular monarch of Ireland), Malachy, King of Meath and captor of Turgesius, triumphed over every rival and was immediately raised to the monarchy.

When intelligence of the death of Turgesius spread abroad the Irish rose on their oppressors and a general massacre took place; vast numbers of the Danes were slaughtered, so that, with the exception of some few strong places like that of Dublin, Ireland was for a time comparatively free from the Northmen.

The Danes did not at any time succeed in establishing their power in Ireland as they did in England and France. The well-nigh complete sway which they obtained for a few years during the life of Turgesius was never recovered by the subsequent adventurers who from time to time molested the Irish coasts. But the private feuds of the Irish kings rescued the Northmen from total destruction, and retaining possession of the seaports, they soon became formidable, though they never regained their former power in the country. Nothing seemed to tire or dismay the indefatigable Northmen; they cared not for their hazardous voyages in frail barks over dangerous seas; they defied hostile resistance on the invaded shore and made their fierce and ravaging descent; defeat filled them with fresh revenge, and their return home recruited them for wider havoc. Such was the character of those terrible sea kings who from time to time arrived upon the Irish

coast. About 850 the Danes, having been reinforced by a fleet of 140 ships from the Baltic Sea, began their plundering expeditions once more. Whatever shrine or temple Christian piety had most richly endowed, Scandinavian rapine was sure to reach.

Internal dissensions enfeebled the country and strengthened the foe. The Irish kings and chieftains seemed chiefly intent on mutual slaughter. Notwithstanding the weakness and destruction caused by the different interests of their rulers, still the people of Ireland made a determined though desultory resistance to the invaders.

In 853 three Norwegian princes, named Anlaf, Ivar and Sitric, with countless crews of fierce warriors, swarmed over from the North Sea; they consolidated the Danes in Dublin, Waterford and Limerick, and proved themselves powerful enough to exact tribute from the surrounding country.

During the ninth century the native annals are almost one melancholy tale of wasting wars, in which Ireland was desolated and plundered by the Danes or by the Irish themselves, or by the Irish and Danes acting together. In 900 Cormac, King of Munster and Archbishop of Cashel, appeared on the scene to claim literary and political distinction. In 907 Cormac defeated the monarch Flann on the plains of Moylena, Kings County, but in a subsequent battle with Flann the King of Munster fell with 6,000 followers. Notwithstanding the unpatriotic conduct of many of the Irish chiefs, especially those of Leinster, who, through cupidity or revenge, joined the Danish standard, still the great body of the people maintained a brave struggle against them. Nothing hindered the Danes from conquering Ireland so much as that division of the kingly power which prevailed among them as well as among the Irish and the Anglo Saxons.

Some amalgamation between the foreigners and

natives gradually took place, and in the latter part of the ninth century we begin to read of the Dano-Irish or Irish-Danes, who partly adopted the manners, customs and language of the country. During the two hundred years that the Danes continued on a hostile footing in the island, we find them generally aided in their wars both in Ireland and in England by unpatriotic Irish chiefs, who in turn availed themselves of Danish alliance to help them in their private quarrels.

In the course of time permanent colonies of Danes were planted at the mouths of the principal rivers. They firmly established themselves at Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Cork and Limerick; they built fortified towns and formed active trading communities along the coast, and occasionally pushed their settlements into the interior of the island.

## CHAPTER VIII.

BRIAN BORU AND MALACHY II. (A. D. 959 TO 1014).

The crown of Ireland during the long and desperate struggle with the Danes gradually yielded to the ambition of its various tributary kings, till in the tenth century the monarchy had become little more than a shadow, and the main obstacle to the ravages of the Danes was now found in the skill or valor of a succession of subordinate chiefs in different parts of Ireland.

A long rivalry and contest between the people of the North of Ireland and those of the South increased in proportion as the supreme guiding power became enfeebled, and gradually the monarchs of the whole isle, which for centuries were restricted to one family, shrunk before the vigor of a crown that was alternately borne by the representatives of two brave clans, each mutually emulative of the other. The island in the course of time, instead of being really subjected to one supreme ruler, became in fact divided into two distinct divisions, practically independent of each other, the power of the monarch of Ireland being restricted to the northern half, while the southern half fell to the bold and ambitious kings of Munster.

In the latter part of the tenth century the throne of Munster was occupied by Mahon, whose brother, the renowned Brian Boru, was one of the most celebrated heroes in the whole range of Irish history. Brian, the acknowledged hero of his clan, the Dalcassians ("who were the first in the field and

the last to leave it''), was, even in his youthful years, distinguished by his rare skill and bravery in resisting the encroachments of the people of Connaught as well as the inroads of the Danes.

In Munster the Danes met with disaster from the bravery of King Mahon and his brother Brian, who in 969 inflicted upon them so terrible a defeat in a great battle at the pass of Sulcoid, near Limerick, that they left 3,000 of the foreigners dead on the field of battle in addition to those who were slain in the pursuit. The Danes were driven pell-mell into Limerick by the victorious Irish, who, entering with them, again committed terrible slaughter, captured, sacked and burned the city, and put all the Danish inhabitants to the sword or reduced them to slavery.

Having crushed the Danes in this part of the country, Brian Boru, upon the death of his brother, Mahon, who was basely murdered by some treacherous chiefs in 976, succeeded to the throne of Munster, over which he ruled with great power and prosperity for a long period. The gallant Brian lost no time in wreaking a terrible vengeance upon the murderers, who, though supported by a strong force of Danes, were defeated near Mahon's grave in the sanguinary battle of the Road of the Sepulchre, in which one of the assassins, named Molloy, was slain by Brian's eldest son, Murrough, then only fifteen years of age, who killed the murderer of his uncle with his own hand.

King Brian after this victory determined to pursue his success against the Danish auxiliaries, who had fled early in the battle, and had thus exposed their Irish allies to a more disastrous defeat than they would otherwise have experienced. He proceeded to the holy isle of Scattery, in the mouth of the Shannon, which, with its eleven churches and the shrine of St. Senan, had been repeatedly



plundered and ravaged by the Danish invaders, who had finally established themselves there and made it their stronghold, from which they issued to desolate the surrounding coasts.

Brian landed on the island with a strong force of Dalcassian warriors and slew with his own hand the Danish chieftain and his two sons and drove the foreigners not only from Scatterry, but also from all the smaller isles of the Shannon, which he plundered and laid desolate. In a subsequent engagement with Donovan (the remaining assassin of Mahon) that chieftain, with all his Irish forces and Danish allies, was cut off, and thus King Mahon's fate was fearfully avenged by his valiant brother.

These repeated successes raised the reputation and influence of the King of Munster to such a degree that he soon became not only the terror of the Danes, but a dangerous rival to the nominal monarch of Ireland, and gradually we find him aspiring to join to the southern division the supreme sovereignty of the island, the grand object of the ambition of many of his predecessors, whose efforts were at length crowned by the genius and political talents of Brian Boru.

Malachy II. succeeded to the throne of Ireland in 980 on the death of Donald O'Niall, the successor of Connell, who was killed in 959 in a great battle against the people of Leinster and the Danes. The accession of Malachy was signalized by a great victory over the Danes of Dublin and their allies from the Scottish Isles, who penetrated into the very heart of his dominions. King Malachy boldly turned assailant, and attacking the main body of the enemy, he overthrew them at Tara in a conflict of three days, in which 5,000 of the foreigners were slain.

The beaten foe was forced to accept whatever terms the monarch pleased to dictate, and among

others was the unconditional liberation of all the Irish held by the enemy. The monarch's edict to this effect was followed by the release of two thousand persons, among whom was the King of Leinster. In no former battle on the Irish shores had the Danes ever experienced so great a slaughter or lost so many distinguished chiefs.

Christianity had already made its way to some extent among the Irish-Danes, though it appears as yet to have done little towards checking their predatory spirit or diminishing their cruelty.

In 983 an effort of the people of Leinster to rid themselves of the odious and humiliating tribute which the kings of Munster had for a long time claimed of that province as a subordinate portion of the southern half of Ireland, brought Brian into collision with them and the monarch Malachy, and perhaps first suggested that daring course which he successfully pursued till it conducted him to the imperial seat of Ireland. O'Phelan, Prince of Desies (County Waterford), organized the confederacy which the Prince of Ossory (County Kilkenny) and the Danes of Cork and Waterford joined. The active Brian was instantly in the field; he fell upon the whole body of the allies, routed them with great slaughter, entered Waterford and broke up the confederacy; proceeded to Ossory, obtained hostages and made the prince his prisoner; marched rapidly through Leinster, reduced it to obedience, and received in his tent acknowledgments of allegiance and homage from its two kings.

"Such," says Dr. Young, "were the early manifestations of that military genius which soon blazed forth and shed its lustre upon his long career to its very close—a genius which entitled him to the conspicuous position he subsequently held and which qualified him for a wider sphere of action—a genius which still recommends him to the historian and the

poet." But these brilliant successes did not procure quiet for Brian; they appear only to have provoked the jealousy of Malachy and prompted him to try his prowess against the provincial hero.

While the latter was enforcing the Leinster tribute the monarch made a raid into Munster, and among other injuries, ordered to be cut down that Royal Oak at Adair, under whose boughs the Dalcassian kings had long been inaugurated. Thus Brian and Malachy became openly embroiled with each other in a struggle for supremacy, which, with some intermissions, continued for nearly twenty years.

Soon after Malachy invaded Leinster, which, according to the twofold partition of the island before noticed, was under the dominion of Brian; this division of the country which gave the sovereignty of the northern portion to the monarch and the southern to the crown of Munster, now engendered or fostered that strife which ended in the elevation of the able and ambitious Brian to the throne of all Ireland. Brian was quickly in motion and compelled Malachy, without coming to blows, to acknowledge his authority over Leinster and the southern half of Ireland and his right to the Leinster tribute, which was the point immediately at issue.

These adjustments were followed by a rare interval of five years in the reign of civil discord. But Brian was not satisfied; his proud spirit seems to have been stung by the injuries and insults of the nominal monarch. His own feelings were wounded; his country was torn to pieces by the feuds of rival and reckless chieftains; the people were oppressed by barbarous strangers, who held their maritime towns and plundered their venerated temples; and Ireland was no way protected, either against foreign invasion or internecine strife, by an authority able

to command respect at home or to ward off danger from abroad.

For these reasons Brian prepared to assume the reins of the imperial government. During the quiet which he enjoyed after his settlement with the monarch he continued to train and augment the troops composed of his brave clansmen of Clare, to reinforce them from various quarters, and to plan out his intended campaigns. All things being in readiness, he divided his army and swept like a tempest over Meath and Connaught and burned the royal stronghold at Tara.

Meanwhile Malachy did not lose sight of the Danes, whose inroads now became more frequent and more destructive, arising chiefly from the arrival of new adventurers from the North. After defeating them in a great battle he laid siege to Dublin, their stronghold, which he reduced to such extremities that the inhabitants were compelled to agree to pay him yearly, in addition to the usual tribute, one ounce of gold for every principal dwelling-house in the city. Soon after he triumphed over them again, carrying off as trophies the golden collar of Tomar and the sword of Carlus. Brian's last inroad into Meath was followed by a new alliance with Malachy which lasted for three years, and uniting their forces against the Danes, the two kings defeated them in two great battles in 998.

In the following year the Danes, with a formidable force, attacked the combined armies of Brian and Malachy at Glen Mama, in Leinster, but suffered a total defeat, with a loss of 6,000 men and all their chief leaders. After this great victory the Irish kings entered Dublin, and having sacked the town, from which they carried off great spoils of gold, silver and merchandise, they set fire to the houses and destroyed the fortifications.

It became daily more evident that the power of



Munster, under Brian Boru, who was not only a great general but also an able diplomat, would before long overwhelm the throne of the family of the great Niall. In 1002 Brian, who appears to have attached to his interest nearly all the great chieftains, and even the Danish leaders, collected a large army and marched direct into Meath, deposed King Malachy, who, having been deserted by the northern chiefs, resigned the crown without a struggle. Brian received the submission of and took hostages from the chieftains of Ulster, and gathering all the power into his own hands, was acknowledged sovereign of all Ireland.

Brian Boru, eminently endowed by nature and prepared by discipline and experience to exercise authority, made a just and wise king, and for twelve years he ruled in triumph and in peace. The power and authority to which he had attained Brian wielded with such vigor, sagacity and success that made his reign as supreme monarch one of unusual glory, prosperity and happiness for his country. In the earlier part of his reign Brian, in order to preserve his authority, was ever on foot. His royal progresses were incessant. The chieftains of the North of Ireland at first gave him some trouble, but at length he caused his power to be respected nearly as much in Ulster as at the mouth of the Shannon.

Brian visited Armagh frequently, the cathedral of which he enriched with many costly gifts. The Danish settlers purchased safety by becoming tributary, and the feuds of the subordinate kings and great chieftains were checked by the vigor and prudence of the monarch, whose wise administration could not fail of being attended by peace and order.

The bards describe the reign of Brian Boru as Ireland's golden age. Such private virtues and public tranquillity prevailed that, says the legend, a fair maiden walked alone and unmolested over the



whole kingdom, adorned with gold and gems, with a white wand in her hand, having on its top a costly ring. Brian lived in his palace of Kincora in a style of regal splendor and magnificence unequaled by any of the Irish kings since the days of Cormac MacArt, the celebrated monarch of Ireland in the third century, the glories of whose palace at Tara were for many ages the favorite theme of the Irish bards. The palace of Kincora was situated on the banks of the Shannon, near Killaloe, in the County of Clare, and some extensive earthen ramparts showing its site remain to this day.

The annalists speak of the immensity of the annual tribute that was brought to Brian at his palace of Kincora on the first day of November. This tribute from all parts of Ireland was employed by Brian in the encouragement of literature, in restoring and founding schools, churches and monasteries, in rebuilding and embellishing the royal palaces, in erecting fortifications for the protection of the nation, and in making roads and bridges through his extensive domains.

## CHAPTER IX.

### BATTLE OF CLONTARF—APRIL 23, 1014.

In A. D. 1013 the Danes, who had been reduced under Brian Boru's vigorous rule into quiet traders in the seaport towns of Ireland, began to make extraordinary preparations for war, and the monarch of Ireland now found himself involved in a contest more fearful than any he had hitherto experienced, but Brian proved himself equal to the emergency.

Sitric, the Danish ruler of Dublin, having leagued with his maternal uncle, Maolmora Mac-Murrough, the Irish King of Leinster, to avenge the various defeats and disasters which they had sustained in their battles with Brian Boru and Malachy, King of Meath, determined if possible to acquire the entire sovereignty of Ireland; they for this purpose secretly dispatched emissaries to collect and combine all the forces they possibly could for the invasion of Ireland among the Danes and Norwegians of England and of the Orkney Islands, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, together with auxiliaries from Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and also, it is said, from the Normans of France and Belgium, with some Britons from Wales and Cornwall.

A powerful fleet, with these combined forces of foreigners, arrived at the bay of Dublin on Palm Sunday, the 18th of April, A. D. 1014, under the command of Brodar, the Danish admiral. The whole of these foreign forces, together with the





Danes of Dublin and other parts of Ireland, numbered 12,000 men, and their Irish allies, the men of Leinster, under Maolmora MacMurrough, King of Leinster, numbered 9,000, thus making in all 21,000 men; these were divided into seven battalions, each of which consisted of 3,000 men.

The forces from Denmark, Norway and Sweden were under the command of two princes, named Carolus Knutus and Andreas, sons of Sueno, King of Denmark; and a body of 1,000 Norwegian warriors, in coats of mail of brass and iron, was commanded by Carolus and Anrud, two sons of Eric, King of Norway. The Northmen from the Orkneys, Hebrides, Isle of Man and England were commanded by Sigurd, Earl of Orkneys, assisted by Brodar, the Danish admiral, and other chiefs.

The Danes of Dublin and other parts of Ireland were commanded by Sitric, the Danish ruler, and two valiant chiefs named Dolat and Conmaol. Their Irish allies of Leinster were commanded by their king, Maolmora, and his chiefs.

Brian had been some time making preparations to meet this powerful confederacy of foreign and domestic enemies, and having collected his forces he encamped on the plains of Kilmainham, near Dublin. Having already defeated the Danes in twenty-nine pitched battles, Brian now prepared to put a final end to their power in what proved to be one of the decisive battles of history, the last great struggle in Ireland between Christianity and Paganism—the most brilliant and memorable conflict which had ever been fought on Irish soil.

In this famous battle the Dalcassians of North Munster were commanded by Brian in person, but he gave the active command to his eldest son, Murrough, assisted by his four other sons—Teige, Donal, Connor and Flann. Turlough, the son of Murrough and grandson of Brian, together with fif-



teen other young chiefs who were relations of Brian, also fought in this battle. Brian's son Donough had been dispatched secretly with a choice body of men to plunder Leinster, with strict orders to rejoin Brian within two days, but on his return the battle was over.

Murrough had the chief command, and though beyond the period of middle age, being in his sixty-third year, yet he displayed marvelous energy, being a man of great physical strength and distinguished valor. The Eugenians, or troops of South Munster, were commanded by Cian, Prince of Desmond, ancestor of the O'Mahoneys, and he is stated to have exceeded all the men of Erin in stature and beauty.

Various other chiefs are mentioned as commanders of the Munster clans, who were led to Clontarf by the ancestors of the O'Briens, McCarthys, O'Mahoneys, O'Conors, O'Carrolls, O'Connells, O'Donoghoes, O'Donovans, McNamaras, O'Phelans, O'Keefes, O'Scanlans and others.

The Connaught forces who came to the aid of Brian were commanded by Teige O'Connor, king of that province; O'Kelly and O'Heyne, both princes in Galway; O'Flaherty, ancestor of the lords of West Connaught of that name; O'Cadhla, prince of Connemara, and Conor, prince in Roscommon, ancestor of the McDermotts. Malachy, King of Meath, came with 1,000 men.

Flaherty O'Neill was at this time King of Ulster, and though he himself did not come, some of the chiefs of that province joined the standard of Brian at Clontarf. O'Carroll, Prince of Ulster, and Maguire, Prince of Fermanagh, who are mentioned as two of the most illustrious men of Erin, came with their forces, and Felim O'Neill, a famous warrior who had killed a Danish champion in single combat and carried off his shield, which was orna-

mented with silver, and hence he was called "Felim of the Silver Shield."

The great Stewarts of Lennox and Marr came with their forces from Scotland to assist the Irish monarch. Brian's entire army engaged at Clontarf numbered about 20,000 men, and the combined forces of Danes and their allies 21,000.

At sunrise on the morning of Good Friday, the 23rd of April, Brian, at the head of his forces, marched from his camp at Kilmainham to Clontarf and made an animating harangue, encouraging his men to the encounter against those fierce pirates and pagans who had so frequently laid waste the country with ruthless fury; and holding a sword in his right hand and a crucifix in his left, he exhorted them by the symbol of the cross, and reminding them that the day was the anniversary of Christ's Passion, he assured them of victory. Yielding to the infirmities of age, Brian left them to fight under his son Murrough and retired to his tent in the rear.

Brian's standard was advanced and the raven-bearing banners of the Danes unfurled; fierce battle cries and shouts of defiance arose on either side. The Irish bards raised their war-song and the Danish poets recited their battle odes and animated their champions to the contest; the brazen-tongued war trumpets were blown with terrific blasts; the warriors rushed to the struggle and the conflict raged with surpassing fury on all sides; showers of missiles and darts darkened the air and volleys of stones from slings whizzed through the ranks; swords and battle-axes rang on helmets and coats of mail; spears were shattered in the shock; shields and bucklers were rent asunder; champions were cut down, heroes were hacked and hewn to pieces, and in heaps of carnage lay the slain.

The brave Murrough, son of Brian, led the van

and various Irish chiefs performed prodigies of valor. Among these Turlough, son of Murrough; then only in his 16th year, was particularly distinguished for his prowess and deeds of heroism. The battalion of Northmen in coats of mail did great execution among the Irish during the early part of the battle, but being attacked by Murrough, at the head of his chosen troops, those steel-clad champions were cloven down and hewed through their iron helmets and armor by the heavy battle-axes and strong arms of the dauntless and well-disciplined Dalcassians, and scarcely one of the foreign warriors escaped to tell the fortunes of the day.

Of the Danish commanders, Murrough slew in single combat Sigurd, Earl of Orkneys, whose skull he clove with a single blow of his battle-ax. The valiant chiefs Carolus and Conmaol were also slain by Murrough, and Anrud, son of the King of Norway, seeing his brothar Carolus slain, furiously encountered Murrough, whose right hand was swollen and unable to wield the battle-ax from incessant exertion during the day, but with his left hand he seized Anrud, and literally "shaking him out of his coat of mail," he prostrated and pierced him through the body with his sword, but the Norwegian as he fell grasped the dagger of Murrough hanging at his side, and, as the latter stooped over him, plunged it into his breast and gave the Irish hero a mortal wound, of which he died the following morning.

The combat of Murrough with Anrud happened in the evening, and the Danish forces were at that time nearly vanquished, and were soon after put to flight in all directions. Brodar, the Danish commander, having fled into a wood near Brian's tent, perceived that the king was guarded only by a few attendants, and taking advantage of the opportunity, he and his followers rushed into the royal tent; he slew the king with his sword, and at the

same time cut down Conang, a brave youth and nephew of Brian, who valiantly interposed to save the life of his royal master. The aged hero, though taken by surprise, seized his battle-ax, made a brave resistance and slew two of his assailants. The assassin, rushing forth, raised his bloody sword aloft and exclaimed: "Let it be proclaimed from man to man that Brian has fallen by the hand of Brodar!" The Danish chieftain thus endeavored to rally his flying forces and renew the contest, and Brian's guards, having heard of the king's death, returned and rushed on Brodar and his followers with great fury, cut them to pieces, and having seized Brodar himself, put him to death with "excruciating torments."

The battle had now raged with great fury from morning till near sunset, but the foreigners and their allies were discomfited and routed on all sides. Their ranks were broken, their battalions scattered, their champions cut down, their standard-bearers slain, and their raven-bearing banners trampled in the dust. The remnant of their forces fled from the field in all directions, some to Dublin and some to their ships. The Irish warriors, like a rushing torrent, pursued the flying foreigners, and terrific was the uproar and clamor of the combatants amid the clashing of arms, the fierce shouts of the victors and the wild shrieks of the vanquished. Sitric, with the remnant of his Danish forces and their Leinster Irish allies, fled to Dublin.

In the well-contested and sanguinary conflict of Clontarf many thousands fell on either side. At least 10,000 of the Danes and 3,000 of their Irish allies of Leinster and about 7,000 of the troops under Brian fell at Clontarf, the whole thus numbering 20,000 men (nearly one-half of the combatants) slain in that historic battle.

Maolmora, King of Leinster, with 3,000 of his



forces and many of his chiefs fell in the engagement, and almost all the Danish commanders were slain. On the side of the Irish fell King Brian and his heroic son Murrough, together with Turlough, the son of Murrough, and Conang, nephew of Brian, and many of the great chieftains of Munster.

The renowned Brian thus fell in the 88th year of his age, and he has always been justly celebrated as one of the greatest of the Irish monarchs. He was alike eminent for his valor, wisdom, abilities, piety, munificence, and his patronage of learning and the arts. From the greatness of his character as a hero and legislator he has been called the Irish Alfred, and by the Four Masters he is designated "The Augustus of Western Europe." By his various victories over the Danes, particularly that of Clontarf, he freed his country forever from the Danish scourge.

Brian had directed by his will that his body should be interred at Armagh, the cathedral of which he had endowed with large gifts of cattle and gold. The dead monarch's body was embalmed, the obsequies continued incessantly for twelve days and nights with great solemnity and magnificence, and the remains were then buried in a stone coffin at the north side of the great altar in the cathedral of Armagh. The bodies of Murrough, son of Brian, and his son Turlough, together with the remains of Conang, nephew of Brian, and of O'Phelan, Prince of Waterford, were buried at the same time in the south side of the cathedral.



## CHAPTER X.

### STRUGGLES FOR THE CROWN (A. D. 1014 TO 1166).

Brian's Battle, as the victory at Clontarf is called in the Danish chronicles, was such a disaster to the foreigners as prevented any further serious confederation of them for the future invasion of Ireland. Though the island was not entirely free from Danish incursions till the beginning of the 12th century, yet from that terrible day at Clontarf their long cherished dreams of the conquest of Ireland appear to have been abandoned.

With the death of Brian Boru perished the glory, the tranquillity and the prosperity of his country; after the battle of Clontarf Brian's entire system of united government passed away. The great chieftains whom he had humbled reasserted their turbulent independence, and the deposed Malachy II. again became nominal monarch. The Danes, who for over two centuries had been a formidable and at times a dominant power in Ireland, were so broken by their overthrow at Clontarf that they never again became dangerous. Remaining in the great seaport towns, they were never completely driven out of Ireland, but carried on fierce feuds with the native clans, and were, in the slow process of time, absorbed and united with them or with the Anglo-Irish of the Pale.

The condition of society was changing. The ancient tribal system was falling into decay. The lands of the tribes or clans were becoming monopolized by the noble class. The free clansmen were

deteriorating, while the chief and great men were absorbing all political and social power. As the chieftains became more absolute they in time assumed the privilege of quartering themselves and their attendants upon their subjects at their own pleasure.

This oppressive custom in time was changed to a tribute. As the tribal land became occupied and the population grew the clans, always jealous of each other, became aggressive. Lands were seized, cattle lifted, laws set at defiance, and personal and family ambition prompted the chieftains to encourage the tribal strife. Ireland no longer existed as a compact nation, but was divided into five virtually independent provinces or kingdoms, animated by almost perpetual hostility.

From the death of Malachy II. in 1022 until the Welsh-Norman invasion in 1169 there is little else to relate but a constant struggle, with varying success of ambitious provincial kings for the crown of all Ireland, with many efforts on the part of the church to restore peace and order by the mediation of its pacific influence. During this protracted struggle for the supreme power Brian's celebrated palace of Kincora, on the Shannon, in Munster, was destroyed by the northern chieftains, and in retaliation, Aileach, on Lough Swilly, in Ulster, the no less famous palace of the O'Neills, was leveled to the ground by the O'Brians, who, we are told, carried away the materials, stone by stone, to Limerick.

Thus for nearly 150 years the ancient annals record little more than a succession of civil wars, during which the history of Ireland is mainly the history of the ambitions, jealousies, feuds and wars of the five great clans: the O'Brians of Munster, the O'Neills of Ulster, the MacMurroughs of Leinster, the O'Malachys of Meath and the O'Conors

of Connaught, and, in a word, internal dissensions were gradually but surely preparing the way for national decay, successful invasion, loss of liberty and a foreign yoke.

The great victory at Clontarf so weakened the power of the Dalcassian heroes, who bore the brunt of that memorable battle and had lost very heavily, that their chieftains were unable to retain their pre-eminence; but in 1072, on the death of Dermot (King of Leinster, who had succeeded Malachy II. as monarch of Ireland), they again pushed to the front, and Turlough O'Brian, son of Teige and grandson of Brian Boru, became ruler over the greater part of the island for a period of fourteen years, when he died at Kincora.

He was succeeded by his son, Murty the Great, who maintained the ascendancy of the house of Brian, and then Donald, King of Ulster, became for two years nominal monarch till his death in 1121. After Donald's death Turlough O'Conor, King of Connaught, put in a claim, and after long contests and many battles he finally wrested the sovereignty from the O'Brians by sowing dissension between the Eugenic and Dalcassian princes, who were rival claimants to the throne of Munster.

The great struggle between the O'Conors and O'Brians was brought to a close by the decisive battle of Moin Mor, fought in 1151 in Cork, near the River Blackwater, in which 9,000 Dalcassians, under King Turlough O'Brian, deserted by their kinsmen, the Eugenic, were overwhelmed by superior numbers and totally defeated. Those heroes, Spartan-like, refused to yield or ask for quarter, and upwards of 7,000 of them, including their chief leaders, were slain.

From this time forward the kings of Connaught and Ulster became the principal candidates for the supreme power. O'Conor, after the great battle

of Moin Mor, had to contend with Murty O'Neill, King of Ulster, and the conflict continued till 1156, when Turlough O'Connor died, and Murty succeeded to the sovereignty of the whole island.

In 1166, on the death of Murty O'Neill, who fell near Lough Neagh in the battle of Litterluin, Roderic O'Connor, son of Turlough O'Connor and King of Connaught, succeeded to the supreme sovereignty without opposition. He was the last monarch of independent Ireland.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE FIRST WELSH-NORMAN INVASION (A. D. 1169).

At the opening of the period beginning with the Welsh-Norman invasion, centuries of oppression and disorder had not only retarded all national advance, but occasioned a marked decline of prosperity and civilization in Ireland. The refinement and literature of the early ages had not been productive of that diffusive, popular influence which is the peculiar growth of modern times. There was, therefore, no rooted civilization sufficiently powerful to withstand the repeated shocks of invasion, feud, rapine and oppression which darken the Irish annals during a period of nearly four hundred years after the coming of the first Danish invaders.

The Normans, who came originally from the same part of Europe as the Danes, were those fierce Scandinavian rovers whose incomparable energy and daring had carried them to Greenland, Iceland and America, and to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. After centuries of wandering piracy the Normans at length embraced Christianity, without putting off their adventurous restlessness, and founded principalities in France, Italy and other parts of Europe. In the latter part of the 11th century they crushed the Anglo-Saxons in the memorable battle of Hastings, which victory gave them undisputed possession of England. A century after the Norman conquest of England, Ireland was struck by the last wave of a deluge of conquests which had overwhelmed all the neighboring nations. Towards



the close of the 12th century the Normans cast longing eyes on Ireland and found a foothold there through the jealousies and consequent disunion to which a tribal and pastoral people are peculiarly liable. The population of Ireland at this time did not exceed a million and was divided into a great number of clans or tribes. These clans were subdivided into two great classes: the free clans, consisting chiefly of the Milesian race, and the clans which had been reduced by the sword to a state of bondage.

The latter were mainly descendants of the primitive races of Ireland and the slaves imported from England and other countries.

Under the laws of the Milesians it was considered a crime to record the history of the conquered races who had been reduced to servitude at the beginning of the Milesian conquest, and thus the more ancient Irish fared at the hands of their Milesian conquerors as the Milesians themselves fared in after times at the hands of the English historians. Of the free clans at this period the most powerful were the O'Brians of Munster, the O'Neills of Ulster, the O'Conors of Connaught, the MacMurroughs of Leinster and the O'Malachys of Meath.

All Ireland, with the exception of a few seaport towns where the Danes had settled, was in the hands of Irish kings and chiefs of old descent and famous lineage, who quarreled among themselves as readily and fiercely as though their interest, ambition and pleasure were war. The Irish constitution was little altered from pagan times. There were still five kings, one of whom was elected supreme monarch, and he received tribute from the four subordinate kings. This tribute, after the introduction of Christianity, consisted chiefly of cattle, but in the pagan times slaves were commonly offered as

tribute, and at the time of the Norman invasion slavery had not yet died out in Ireland. The Irish, uniting the principle of election with the principle of descent, not the eldest but the most popular or powerful member of the family was chosen monarch, king or chieftain.

The ancient division of Ireland into five provinces or kingdoms was still preserved. The sovereignty over the whole, which for centuries had been held by the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was, since the days of Brian Boru, possessed by different chieftains, and now it was assumed by the O'Conors, kings of Connaught.

Ireland had long since fallen from the proud position in civilization and learning which it had retained during three centuries after the introduction of Christianity in 432. The elements of progress and improvement disappeared in the long and desperate struggle with the Danes, and in the no less disastrous struggle for supremacy between rival clans after the death of King Brian in 1014. The coast cities which the Danes had founded or retained, such as Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork and Limerick, remained chiefly Danish in blood and manners and at feud with the surrounding Celtic clans, though generally forced by the fortunes of war to pay tribute and acknowledge the sovereignty of the Irish kings. When Roderic O'Connor became monarch an old feud between Tiernan O'Rourke, Prince of Brefny (a territory in the eastern part of Connaught), and Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, broke out anew. The clans as well as interests of O'Rourke and Dermot had long been opposed and came into collision as early as 1140.

The elopement of the wife of O'Rourke, Devorgilla, with Dermot in 1153, completed the deadly nature of their enmity. The monarch, Turlough O'Connor, avenged the injured husband and extorted

conditions from King Dermot which considerably diminished his power, but Dermot found a friend in Murty O'Neill when the latter became monarch, and during his reign O'Rourke was oppressed and insulted with impunity.

Roderic O'Connor in assuming the supreme power warmly espoused O'Rourke's cause and his power of punishing was greatly increased by a general combination of the chiefs against Dermot, whom the latter had wronged or insulted, and the people of Leinster, exasperated as they had been by his arbitrary, insolent and cruel conduct, Leinster was invaded and its king, almost completely abandoned even by his own subjects, fled for temporary safety to Ferns, his capital city, and concealed himself there in St. Mary's monastery, which he had founded, but being pressed by his pursuers he escaped to the sea coast, and with a few followers fled to England, A. D. 1168.

Dermot hastened to France, where the Norman King of England, Henry II., was pursuing his plans of aggrandizement, and besought his assistance and did him homage. The Anglo-Norman king had already marked Ireland for conquest, as a nation divided against itself. Dermot's quarrel and expulsion was King Henry's opportunity. The latter accordingly gave his royal permission to the deposed Irish king to enlist any of his English or Welsh subjects who might be willing to engage in the proposed expedition against Ireland.

On his return to England Dermot proclaimed rewards of extensive possessions in Ireland to all those who would aid him in the recovery of his crown. After the decisive battle of Hastings in 1066 several of the Norman nobles who had not received any share of the Anglo-Saxon estates, or who had wasted in dissipation the lands acquired by the conquest of England, obtained from the Anglo-

Norman kings permission to conquer for themselves possessions in Wales.

The southern part of the country, known as the County of Pembroke, at length, after a stubborn resistance by the brave Welsh, was overrun and occupied by the Norman adventurers. The first person of consequence whose attention was attracted by the liberality of Dermot's promises was Richard de Clare, son and heir of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, the chief of the conquered territory in Wales.

Richard de Clare, commonly called Strongbow from his great strength and feats of archery, was a kinsman of King Henry II. and descended from a great and illustrious family, being a great-grandson of that Richard de Clare who had distinguished himself in the ranks of William the Conqueror at the memorable battle of Hastings. Strongbow was celebrated for his valor and military skill, but his dissipated habits had ruined his fortunes, and his great ambition deprived him of royal favor. To this nobleman Dermot promised that if restored by his aid to his kingdom in Ireland he would give him his daughter Eva in marriage and secure him the inheritance of Leinster.

This promise was directly at variance with the Irish law, which made the succession to the crown elective and acknowledged no right in the female descendants, but Strongbow lent a willing ear to these conditions and agreed to sail for Ireland in the following spring. Having concluded this agreement, Dermot succeeded in engaging a group of Welsh-Norman leaders, of whom the most conspicuous was the family of the FitzGerald, or Geraldines, and these also engaged to sail over to Ireland in the spring.

These Geraldines, who were of ancient and noble descent, were Normans in the male and Welsh



in the female line. Many of them were closely united in one family connection by their descent from one remarkable woman—Nesta—the beautiful princess of South Wales. The chief of these were Maurice FitzGerald and his maternal brother, Robert FitzStephen. The circumstances and tempers of these half-brothers corresponded with Strongbow's and disposed them to a ready acceptance of Dermot's offers of the surrender to them of the City of Wexford and the grant of a large tract of land adjoining. With FitzGerald and FitzStephen were joined Myler FitzHenry, Maurice de Prendergast, Hervey de Montmorris, Robert de Barry and some other knights of reputation.

Having made these arrangements Dermot returned to Ireland, where he found a secure asylum in the monastery at Ferns during the winter months. Early in the spring of 1169, at the head of a few native and some foreign troops who had accompanied him from Wales, Dermot boldly entered the field and made himself master of a part of Leinster. King Roderic, alarmed at his reappearance, collected the national forces, and with O'Rourke marched against him, and after several engagements compelled him to take refuge in a wild district on the banks of the River Slany.

In one of these skirmishes a son of the Prince of North Wales, who fought under Dermot, was slain. He is said to have been one of the most famous warriors of Britain. The attempt made by the troops of Roderic and O'Rourke to force the post occupied by Dermot was repulsed with some loss, and King Roderic, at the same time alarmed by the report of a meditated revolt in Munster, entered into an agreement with the crafty Dermot and allowed him to retain a small portion of Leinster on condition of giving hostages for his fidelity and paying a hundred ounces of gold to O'Rourke as a compensation



for past wrongs. This concession gave Dermot time to bring those designs to maturity which could have been at once arrested if the advantages which had been gained over him had been vigorously followed up. Dermot had already sent his secretary, Maurice Regan, over to Wales to hasten the departure of FitzGerald, FitzStephen and their adherents and to allure other adventurers to his standard by offers of land and money. Early in May Robert FitzStephen arrived on the coast of Wexford with a small force, consisting of 130 knights clad in complete armor, chiefly his own kinsmen and retainers, with sixty men-at-arms and about 300 of the famous archers of Wales. Among the most conspicuous of the foreign knights were Myler FitzHenry, Robert de Barry and Hervey de Montmorris.

The next morning Maurice de Prendergast arrived at the same landing place, attended by ten knights and 200 archers.

Many of Dermot's friends were now encouraged to join his standard and he hastened to meet his allies with a body of 500 men. The first enterprise undertaken by Dermot and FitzStephen was the siege of Wexford, a town of great strength and importance, about twelve miles from the Norman camp.

The inhabitants of Wexford were descended from the united races of Danes and Irish and prided themselves on their valor and former exploits; they boldly sallied forth to the number of 2,000 to meet the enemy. These brave men in their first impulse had not calculated the terrible odds which they would have to encounter in the small but highly trained band which now threatened their city. They were not long, however, in drawing correct conclusions from the splendid array which stood before them in the stern repose of military discipline and valor, and quickly changing their resolution, they

set fire to the suburbs of the town and retired hastily within the walls.

FitzStephen lost no time in pressing his advantage and led up his forces in person. These, we are told, rushed to the assault with loud cries and desperate vigor, but the garrison made a gallant defense, and casting down from the walls large stones and beams, repulsed every attack. Among the first who mounted the walls was Robert de Barry, the eldest brother of the well-known historian, Gerald de Barry, commonly called Giraldus Cambrensis or Gerald of Wales. A large stone thrown by the garrison struck his helmet with such force that he fell headlong into the ditch and was with difficulty dragged out alive by his companions. FitzStephen withdrew his forces after a loss of eighteen, while of the garrison only three were slain.

He resolved, however, to leave no refuge for retreat and led his men to the shore and set fire to the ships in which they had arrived. The next morning, after divine service was celebrated in the camp, FitzStephen and Dermot drew up their forces with great care and prepared to renew the attack upon the town in a more effective manner. But the townsmen had taken counsel during the night and they anticipated the enemy's movement by sending hostages and renewing their allegiance to Dermot.

The jealousy and vindictive animosity of the latter remained unappeased and three days passed in negotiation. At length, however, by the influence of his allies and the clergy, terms were all arranged and the foreigners and Dermot entered the town, the lordship of which, according to his promise, was bestowed, with the grant of the surrounding districts, on FitzStephen and Maurice FitzGerald, though the latter had not yet arrived, and he also presented to Hervey de Montmorris two districts on the coast be-

tween Wexford and Waterford. Hervey planted in this territory, which forms the present baronies of Forth and Bargy, a colony of the Welsh and Flemings, or Belgians, who had settled in Wales, and it is said that their descendants, even at the present day, continue to be distinguished from the inhabitants of the surrounding country by their peculiar customs and dialect.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE WELSH-NORMAN INVASION—CONTINUED.

The Normans had great advantages over the Irish not only in armor and discipline, but also in the skill of their archers, equipped with the cross-bows which could kill at a hundred yards.

This formidable weapon, which was introduced for the first time in Ireland by the Normans, produced as great a change in military affairs as the use of firearms did in after times. The Normans had been military adventurers for centuries. Having from infancy been devoted to the exercise of chivalry, they especially prided themselves on their superior armor and horses.

Their cross-bows and their discipline had decided the fate of England at the decisive battle of Hastings, where Saxon supremacy on British soil received its death blow, and their wars on the continent had taught them to use these advantages to the utmost. Their success in Ireland was largely due to their superior military skill and equipment and their greater aptitude both for obedience and command. Their weapons and armor rendered it almost impossible for the Irish troops to meet them successfully in the open field.

For centuries the Irish had not served out of their own country, and consequently had learned few of those improvements in the art of war which made the name of Norman formidable throughout Europe. The Irish were armed with spears, darts, battle-axes and daggers, but they wore no defensive

armor except shields, and sometimes helmets. The kings, chiefs and leaders occasionally wore coats of mail, but in general they scorned such devices as unworthy of brave men. They were divided into heavy armed infantry called galloglasses and light armed infantry called kerns, and horsemen (consisting mainly of the chief and his nearest kinsmen), who were mounted on the native breed of horses, called hobbies, which were light and active, but not so formidable as the powerful war horses of the foreign knights. It is not singular, then, that the Normans, completely locked in steel and mounted on their powerful chargers, should have generally routed the undisciplined and ill-armed troops with whom they had to contend. The Irish bards describe the proud, impetuous Celts breaking like a surge against the iron ranks of the Normans: "Unequal they engage in battle, the foreigners and the Gaell! Fine linen shirts on the native troops and the strangers one mass of iron."

The fall of Wexford had strengthened Dermot's party because it displayed energy and valor. Some turned to what appeared a thriving cause, while the hope of plunder attracted many, and Dermot now found himself with an army of 3,000 native troops at his command, in addition to his foreign allies, and he resolved to turn his arms against Donald FitzPatrick, Prince of Ossory.

The invasion of Ossory (a territory in the southwestern part of Leinster) was rendered peculiarly difficult by its natural defenses of hills, woods and bogs. Donald promptly collected his best troops and prepared for the formidable invasion. At the head of 5,000 men he took up a strong position in a difficult pass, through which it was necessary that Dermot and his allies should enter his country, and, with his forces, stationed himself behind strong intrenchments in a vast and



intricate morass and awaited the approach of the enemy. When the army of FitzStephen and Dermot approached the pass the Normans rushed forward to attack the intrenchments, but Donald's men fought with desperate vigor and the attack failed.

The struggle continued from morning till evening, during which the strength of Donald's position defied the repeated assaults of the Normans and baffled their utmost efforts of valor and skill. In this difficulty FitzStephen had recourse to stratagem: he ordered his men to feign a retreat. This threw Donald's men off their guard; in the heat of battle they overlooked the secret of their strength and suffered their native ardor to impel them rashly to the firm and open plain where the foe retreated for the purpose of leading them into this fatal error. When the Ossorians rushed forth from their intrenchments the Norman knights turned in their pretended flight and charged with resistless force, scattering their pursuers with great slaughter until the Ossorians once more reached the security of their fortifications.

The Normans, in their turn, carried forward by the ardor of pursuit, became involved in the marshy ground, where it was impossible for cavalry to act without imminent danger. Donald, now thinking the enemy within his power, began to reassemble his men with a courage that was perceived by his countrymen in the opposite ranks. Many of Dermot's men, alarmed at the critical position of their allies, now stood apart, and Dermot, seeing this movement, was led to fear that they meant to change sides and go over to the men of Ossory. In the meantime FitzStephen took the necessary steps to repair the error of his position. Repeating his former order, the Norman knights once more assumed the appearance of a confused and hurried retreat, which again deceived the Ossorians, who rushed forth

in pursuit. FitzStephen, placing an ambush behind a grove which his men had passed on their retreat, at length gained the firm fields, and a second time he ordered his men to wheel around upon their unwary pursuers, who again, by this movement, were instantly turned into a confused flight, and being intercepted by the ambush they sustained a severe slaughter. In this pursuit the troops of Dermot were not slow in lending assistance, which apparently they would as readily have lent the Ossorians had the victory been on their side.

A rapid flight soon terminated the slaughter, but not before 300 of the men of Ossory were slain, whose heads were collected and brought by the troops of Dermot as a grateful offering to his animosity. After this victory Ossory was wasted with fire and sword, and when the invaders became weary with desolating the country they started to return to Ferns laden with spoils. The Prince of Ossory and his army, after their defeat, had taken shelter in the woods, from which they now again issued to harass the invaders on their retreat.

The troops of Dermot were placed under the command of his natural son, Donald Cavanagh. The Normans, as the force most to be depended upon, always marched in advance when they entered a hostile country and held the rear when they were leaving it, and Dermot marched with them as his surest guard. As they proceeded in this manner Donald Cavanagh soon approached a difficult pass, where, in former wars with the people of Ossory, Dermot had been three times defeated, and his troops, now expecting a similar disaster, fled to the woods the moment they saw the approach of the Ossorians, leaving their leader with only a few men.

The Prince of Ossory took immediate advantage of this sudden flight and hastened with 1,700 troops to attack the Normans, who were not much more

than 400 men. The latter were just passing through a little vale, where they were exposed to great danger. FitzStephen and Prendergast urged them to keep close together until they had passed this critical point, when, having reached better ground, they might turn upon their pursuers. Soon the Normans were on better ground, and, raising the war cry of "St. David!" they suddenly turned around upon their pursuers and presented "a wall of steel" which the men of Ossory could not penetrate, and the charge of the foreign knights at this decisive moment at once decided the fate of the day. When Dermot's troops saw the result of the battle they rushed forth from concealment in the woods and fell upon the rear of the fugitives, and with their battle-axes cut off the heads of the slain. More than two hundred ghastly trophies were thus laid at the feet of Dermot.

The victors the next day returned to Ferns, where the chiefs from most parts of Leinster, terrified by reports of the prowess of the Norman allies, came in and gave hostages to Dermot for their allegiance. The Prince of Ossory, however, and Asgal, the Dano-Irish lord of Dublin, still held aloof. After resting a few days at Ferns Dermot proceeded a second time to invade Ossory. Donald FitzPatrick, more irritated than daunted by calamity, was in the meantime preparing for a more desperate effort of resistance. He had fortified himself with a strong intrenchment and palisades of stakes in a very difficult pass in the path of his enemy, and but for the lack of discipline of his men would have obtained decisive revenge. When the invaders approached the pass the native troops of Dermot were appointed to attack the intrenchments, which was done with the utmost valor during two successive days, but the assailants were as often driven back by the Ossorians until, on the third day, elated by fre-

quent successes, they pursued their enemies even into the open plains.

A party placed in ambush by Dermot suddenly assaulted Donald's rear and the lines of the Normans in front could not be broken. At this critical moment the knights of FitzStephen charged furiously and defeated the men of Ossory with great slaughter, and those who were dashed to the ground by the charge had their heads cut off by the battle-axes of Dermot's foot soldiers. In the meantime Roderic O'Connor, monarch of Ireland, had summoned his subordinate chiefs from all parts of the island and raised his standard at the historic hill of Tara, where he reviewed the assembled forces. From Tara he led them to Dublin. Here he discovered such symptoms of disunion in his army as convinced him that there was little hope of conquering Dermot and his allies.

Many of the chieftains seemed likely to betray him for the promotion of their own private interests; every disposition was shown to thwart his measures. Roderic had long been aware that many of the assembled chiefs were in secret the adherents of the rival Ulster Clan O'Neill, and he accordingly dismissed the Northern chieftains on the pretense that the occasion did not warrant such a large force. His own troops, with those of O'Rourke and the Dano-Irish of Dublin, he retained, a force much larger than Dermot's and FitzStephen's, but when the advantages of superior discipline, arms and continued success are considered, the army of Roderic was not sufficient to inspire him with confidence. Dermot, on receiving intelligence of the confederation against him, lost no time in making peace with the Prince of Ossory, and immediately returned to Ferns, again laden with plunder.

Many of his followers, now anticipating his overthrow, deserted him on the way. When he



arrived at Ferns he had only a small force under his command besides his foreign allies. Not feeling themselves strong enough to face in the field the army of King Roderic, FitzStephen and Dermot retreated to a strong position not far from Ferns, surrounded by dense woods, steep mountains, and a deep morass, which was rendered almost impregnable by felling trees, digging pits and trenches, and other devices of Norman strategy under the skillful direction of FitzStephen. Here they awaited the approach of Roderic, but when the monarch proceeded to invest the army of Dermot and FitzStephen the situation of the latter, in spite of their position and skill and the strength of their defenses, seemed desperate; yet King Roderic had recourse to negotiations instead of fighting. The Irish monarch had a large force, but, in fact, little power at his command. His army, composed of discordant elements, was more of a pageant than an effective force; his chiefs were not to be leagued together except by their private interests, and they were, when ambition or interest required, as willing to combine against their monarch as to follow him in a national cause.

The national interest was imperfectly understood, and what little community of feeling existed was overshadowed by the strifes and contentions of sectional politics. Provincial feuds and jealousies, the disaffection of many, the fears of some, the disunion of all, traced in the quaint records of that dark age, appear to the modern reader as dim shadows in the distance of time. In that memorable conflict those who were the anxious and deeply interested actors, though not deficient in courage or in earnestness, were governed by fatal and uncommon influences now but little understood. The disunion of the Irish chiefs, their characteristic inability to combine may be safely set down in this



crisis as fatal to the national cause. Roderic, believing that a successful attack was impossible and that the consequences of defeat would be ruinous, sent proposals to Dermot, and by the mediation of the clergy a treaty was concluded.

Dermot consented to acknowledge the monarch's supremacy and to pay him the usual service of a provincial king. A secret article secured the more general object of Roderic and showed the perfidy of Dermot, who bound himself to receive no more foreign allies into his service, and engaged, on the reduction of Leinster, to dismiss those who were already with him, but he was wholly faithless and resolved to keep the treaty no longer than might suit his purpose. He delivered as hostage for the performance of his part of the treaty his favorite son, Conor, and Roderic consented to leave the sovereignty of Leinster with Dermot, and promised in time, when the treaty should become firmly established, to confirm the alliance by giving his daughter in marriage to the young prince. Soon after the completion of the treaty, Dermot and his allies went about plundering and burning with little opposition, and this soon drew multitudes of the Irish to his standard.

After breaking up his camp near Ferns and separating from his Dano-Irish forces, the King of Ireland carried his army into Munster against Donald O'Brian, Prince of Thomond, or North Munster, who had thrown off his allegiance to Roderic and set the crown of Ireland at defiance. It is evident that no agreement could bind King Dermot, who, on the arrival of Maurice FitzGerald, the famous ancestor of the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, with ten knights, thirty men-at-arms and a hundred archers, notwithstanding the late treaty, marched with all his allies to the aid of the Prince of Thomond, who, with this assistance, soon ob-

tained the superiority over Roderic, and the monarch of Ireland was driven back into Connaught. Thus all things appeared to favor Dermot and his foreign allies.

When the small number of the adventurers is considered their success seems marvelous, but it was the victory of trained soldiers in armor over undisciplined, unprotected valor. The Irish were defeated not through deficiency of courage but by want of unity among themselves and the absence of those vigorous councils necessary when the independence of the whole island was threatened. Dermot now was at liberty to pursue his schemes of vengeance and aggrandizement and Dublin was selected as the first object of attack.

The city and surrounding country was chiefly inhabited by Dano-Irish, who were then the chief commercial people of the country. Dermot bore them especial hatred for the spirit with which they frequently repelled his aggressions. His father, when King of Leinster, had so exasperated them by oppression that, when caught within their walls, they slew him and buried his remains with a dog. They from that time revolted and acknowledged no rulers but Asgal MacTorcal, a chief of Danish descent, and Roderic O'Connor, monarch of Ireland. Dermot, with his Irish and foreign forces, advanced into the territory of Dublin, which he laid waste with fire and sword till the terrified people were forced to appease him by a prompt submission, which by the advice of Maurice FitzGerald was reluctantly accepted.

Roderic, already incensed by Dermot's breaches of covenant, invaded Leinster with a small army, but he was defeated and driven back across the Shannon. Thus encouraged, Dermot began to talk openly of higher ambitions, and his relentless vengeance prompted him to endeavor to depose King Rod-

eric, his ancient and hated foe, and at length he laid claim to the kingdom of Connaught itself and to the monarchy of all Ireland.

In this bold enterprise Strongbow appeared necessary. His promise to come to Ireland with a large force was accordingly pressed upon the Norman chief, which, after an interview with King Henry, he prepared to fulfill by sending over as an advance guard Raymond FitzGerald (commonly called Raymond le Gros), with ten knights and seventy archers.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### KING HENRY II. IN IRELAND.

Raymond, who was a near relative of Robert FitzStephen and Maurice FitzGerald, and ancestor of the Graces of Ossory and the FitzMaurices of Kerry, landed a few miles to the south of Waterford in May, 1170, and immediately threw up a slight fortification of earth and sods to protect his little army until the arrival of Strongbow.

Here he was joined by Hervey de Montmorris, with a small band. Waterford had been originally settled by the Danes and still was inhabited chiefly by their descendants. Resolved to crush the invaders at once the citizens summoned to their assistance some of the neighboring clans, and with an army of 3,000 men, natives and Dano-Irish, closely blockaded the new fort. Raymond in the meantime had collected in his fortification a great herd of cattle from the surrounding country, and while the men of Waterford and their allies were considering the best means of securing the handful of foreigners, suddenly the gates of the fortress opened and a frightened herd of cattle rushed forth on the Dano-Irish and native troops, who scattered in confusion in all directions, and before the effect of their disorder had subsided the enemy was upon them.

Raymond and his knights spread havoc among the demoralized kerns, 500 of whom were slain and seventy taken prisoners. But the victory of Raymond and his mailed knights was sullied by cruelty. In the charge he had lost a dear friend and in his

fury he ordered all the prisoners put to death. Strongbow arrived in August with a force of 200 knights and 1,200 infantry. The day after his arrival the adventurers advanced to attack Waterford, then governed by a chief of Danish descent, who defended the city with his Dano-Irish forces, aided by the natives under O'Phelan, Prince of Desies, as the present County of Waterford was then called.

After meeting several severe repulses from the brave garrison a breach was at length made in the walls, through which the besiegers poured into the town and slaughtered all whom they encountered till arrested by Dermot, who, according to previous agreement, arrived that day at Waterford. The dark history of the King of Leinster is, for a moment, brightened by this transient gleam of humanity. As soon as the work of slaughter had ceased the marriage of Strongbow with Eva was solemnized in Waterford, which established in the former a colorable claim to the sovereignty of Leinster, and immediately thereafter the confederate forces determined to march against Dublin, whose inhabitants had repudiated their allegiance to Dermot.

Leaving a small garrison at Waterford, the combined foreign and Irish troops marched through the mountains of Glendalough, in Wicklow, in the following order: Miles de Cogan commanded the vanguard of 500 men, and Raymond followed next with another 500; in the rear was Strongbow with 1,000 men, thus making 2,000 of the Normans. Dermot had 5,000 native troops and his son, Donald Cavanagh, had another large body of Irish—more than 3,000 men.

The entire army, numbering 10,000 men, well armed and disciplined, soon invested Dublin. Strongbow and Dermot encamped at some distance, but Miles de Cogan and Raymond came close to the



walls. Maurice Regan, secretary of Dermot, was sent to summon the city to surrender and to demand thirty hostages for its fidelity.

Asgal, the Dano-Irish governor of Dublin, was unwilling to hazard an engagement, but the citizens could not agree among themselves about the details of the treaty, and the time of parley having passed while they were disputing about the hostages, Miles de Cogan and Raymond led their troops suddenly against an unguarded part of the walls, entered the city, and slew great numbers of the inhabitants. The slaughter was dreadful, for the citizens and garrison, though taken by surprise, made a gallant defense.

Many were slain and numbers of those who escaped the sword were drowned in the River Liffey. Lawrence O'Toole, the illustrious Archbishop of Dublin, did honor to the occasion by the humanity and energy of his patriotic exertions in behalf of his fellow-citizens.

King Dermot and Strongbow entered the city and seized immense quantities of provisions, gold, silver and other valuables. Strongbow was now invested with the lordship of Dublin and appointed Miles de Cogan his first governor. Dermot and his allies next made an incursion into Meath, plundered and burned Clonard, Kells and other churches, and after a brief campaign returned to Dublin laden with spoils. Roderic, unable or unwilling to meet the enemy in the field, sent messengers to Dermot to complain of his conduct and to threaten him with the execution of his hostages if he did not desist. Dermot, who cared as little for his hostages as for his oath, answered that he would never rest till he should become master of Connaught and of all Ireland.

Roderic immediately put his hostages to death, among whom were the son and grandson of Dermot,

who now ventured to try his force by leading an army of his own troops into the territory of his ancient enemy, O'Rourke, where he met with two successive defeats. The King of Leinster died soon after at Ferns, according to the ancient annals, of a lingering and offensive disease, abandoned by God and man.

The success of Strongbow and his companions had a disturbing effect on King Henry, who was glad enough to get a foothold in Ireland, but there was danger lest these resolute, having won a kingdom by the sword, should keep it for themselves. He accordingly commanded Strongbow to return with all his men and forbade all intercourse between Ireland and his own subjects. This command was difficult to obey, for the Dano-Irish and the natives had united and turned upon the invaders and were harassing them very effectively.

On the death of Dermot, Strongbow claimed, as his successor, the sovereignty of Leinster, but in this position his danger was greater than ever. The adherents of the King of Leinster did not feel themselves much disposed to follow Strongbow, and on the death of Dermot many of them fell away from the former's standard. Under these circumstances Strongbow learned with dismay that a formidable confederacy had been formed against him. The patriotic Archbishop of Dublin, Lawrence O'Toole, had traversed the country, employing all his eloquence to convince the chiefs of their fatal error of disunion, and with Roderic O'Conor succeeded in collecting an army of 30,000 men, which was supported by a large force of Danes under Godfrey, King of the Isle of Man, who was also in alliance with King Roderic, and came to Dublin with his forces and a fleet of thirty ships, which guarded the harbor.

The army of Roderic lay inactive before Dub-

lin for two months; a close blockade, however, was maintained and Strongbow was finally reduced to the necessity of proposing a treaty. At the first serious apprehension of danger Strongbow had dispatched messengers to FitzStephen at Wexford for assistance and the latter had sent him a part of his small garrison. But the people of Wexford no sooner saw the number of their masters reduced than they burst into insurrection, slew the greater part of them and sent the remainder to an island in the bay. This news reached Strongbow at a moment when his courage began to waver on account of the overwhelming force of the enemy. He accordingly proposed terms of accommodation to Roderic and offered to acknowledge himself his subject and accept Leinster under him, provided the monarch would immediately raise the siege.

Roderic declared that he would listen to no terms unless the Normans would agree to surrender Dublin and all the places, forts and castles held by them and would bind themselves to depart on a certain day, with all their forces, from Ireland, and in case of a refusal he threatened to give immediate orders for an assault. The city was defended by a strong garrison of Normans and there was also a considerable force of Irish allies from Leinster under Donald Cavanagh and two chiefs from Wicklow, but the besieged were in great need of provisions and in imminent danger of starvation unless soon relieved. In this crisis Strongbow called a council of war, over which he presided. Maurice and Raymond FitzGerald, Miles and Richard de Cogan, Myler FitzHenry, Maurice de Prendergast and others of the bravest and most experienced of the foreign knights were present, and it was determined, after long deliberation, to cut their way through the army of King Roderic. Accordingly, having laid their plans, a chosen band of their best

troops was secretly assembled and divided into four divisions, and early in the morning they prepared for a sudden sally against the Irish camp. The vanguard, consisting of twenty knights, was led by Raymond, followed by thirty knights under Miles de Cogan; the third division of about forty knights was commanded by Strongbow and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, 600 men-at-arms and archers bringing up the rear.

The Irish, over-confident of their security, were totally unprepared for this sudden charge, and the first notice they had of the approach of the enemy was when the Norman knights were in the midst of their tents.

Nearly 2,000 of Roderic's men were slain and the monarch himself was nearly captured while bathing. The Normans pursued the fugitives till near evening, and then returned to the city, laden with plunder and an abundance of provisions from the Irish camp. Godfrey, as soon as he learned of the defeat of King Roderic, retired with his fleet to the Isle of Man and relieved Strongbow of all his difficulties.

The affairs of the South next engaged Strongbow's attention. He advanced to Wexford, which the inhabitants burned and deserted at his approach, and while he was preparing to take revenge for their revolt he was deterred by their threats to massacre FitzStephen and their other prisoners. On his march through Carlow Strongbow escaped imminent danger from an ambuscade prepared by the clan of O'Ryans. The Normans were assaulted in a narrow pass, where their superior discipline gave them little advantage, and their defeat appeared certain when the chief of the Irish was slain by an arrow, upon which his followers immediately dispersed. Strongbow next proceeded to Waterford, where he was visited by his brother-in-law, Donald O'Brian,



Prince of Thomond, or North Munster, who had married a daughter of King Dermot.

An expedition against Donald FitzPatrick, Prince of Ossory, was planned by the two kinsmen, and the allied army marched into the territory of the ancient enemy of their deceased father-in-law. FitzPatrick, unable to withstand the united forces, sent to offer terms of peace. A personal interview was arranged by the mediation of Maurice de Prendergast, who had served for a short time under the Prince of Ossory, and the latter, having received an assurance of safety, came to the Norman-Irish camp.

O'Brian and Strongbow were inclined to violate their agreement and throw the Prince of Ossory into prison, but Maurice de Prendergast openly protested against this breach of faith and threatened to resist it by force of arms. Strongbow yielded to this remonstrance and the Irish chief was dismissed in safety.

Soon afterwards an expedition was undertaken against the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, who were soon subdued, but in the midst of his triumphs Strongbow received an order from King Henry so peremptory that he dared not disobey, and accordingly he embarked in haste for England. Strongbow had scarcely left the Irish shores when a new danger presented itself before Miles de Cogan, who was left in charge of the government of Dublin. On the taking of the city the Dano-Irish governor, Asgal, with many of the wealthy citizens, fled to their ships in the Liffey and sailed to the Isle of Man and the Scottish islands, with their treasures. Asgal, determined to attempt the recovery of Dublin, collected a large force of Danes from the islands, then ruled by Scandinavians, and arrived in May, 1170, near Dublin with a fleet of sixty ships and 10,000 men. One of his commanders was a famous Danish



warrior of gigantic stature and great strength, who was called John the Furious.

The garrison of Dublin was commanded by Miles de Cogan and his brother Richard, and they were assisted by an Irish chief who lived near the city. John the Furious, at the head of his men, made a fierce assault at the eastern gate, which was vigorously defended by Miles de Cogan, but after a great number had been slain on both sides the Normans were repulsed. In the meantime Richard de Cogan rapidly rushed out at the south gate with his knights, charged the Danish forces in the rear, and defeated them with great slaughter, forcing them to retire to their ships.

John the Furious disdained to fly and fought with amazing valor; he slew great numbers with his battle-ax, but at length was overcome by superior numbers, and the Danish hero fell by the arms of the Norman knights. Asgal was taken prisoner, and avowing boldly his intention never to desist from attempting to recover Dublin, by order of Miles de Cogan he was beheaded on the strand in sight of his own men on board their ships. Thus fell Asgal, the last Dano-Irish lord of Dublin, and with him terminated the rule of the Danes after they had maintained their position in Dublin since the time of Turgesius, more than 300 years.

When Strongbow arrived in England he found the king making active preparations for an expedition to Ireland. Henry's displeasure was still unabated, but he at length became reconciled to Strongbow by the latter surrendering to him the City of Dublin and whatever other strongholds he claimed in Ireland, upon which the Norman king confirmed him in immense possessions in Leinster under the English crown.

In October, 1171, Henry II. arrived in the harbor of Waterford with a fleet of 400 ships and a

force of about 10,000 men—knights, men-at-arms and archers.

He was attended by Strongbow, John de Courcy, ancestor of the barons of Kinsale; Hugh de Lacy, William FitzAdelm de Burgo, ancestor of the Burkes; Theobald Walter, ancestor of the Butlers; Robert le Poer, ancestor of the Powers, and many other lords and nobles renowned throughout England and Europe. This display of force overawed many of the Leinster and Munster chieftains, who seem to have thought resistance to such an army useless, hence most of them came in and swore allegiance to King Henry.

Without a master spirit to subdue their jealousies and to unite the turbulent clans, combined resistance was impossible. Henry's claim was to be Lord of Ireland, a title carrying only a vague and shadowy authority, which left the native chieftains in possession of supreme power in their own territories; but with this title he and his successors on the English throne for more than three centuries contented themselves.

The morning after Henry's arrival at Waterford he received the submission of Dermot MacCarthy, Prince of Desmond, or South Munster, who surrendered to him the City of Cork and did him homage. MacCarthy's example was followed by Donald O'Brian, Prince of Thomond, or North Munster, who surrendered Limerick, and by Donald FitzPatrick, Prince of Ossory, and Malachy O'Phelan, Prince of Desies. The Dano-Irish swore allegiance, as did Tiernan O'Rourke, Prince of Brefny, and other chiefs, and Roderic O'Conor at length turned at bay across the Shannon.

The men of Wexford sent Henry ambassadors declaring that they had seized FitzStephen and his men as traitors to his majesty and only detained them until the royal pleasure was known. On his

arrival at Wexford Henry allowed himself to be persuaded to pardon the gallant adventurer and his fellow-prisoners.

FitzStephen, Maurice FitzGerald and Hervey de Montmorris were permitted to retain the lands adjoining Wexford which they received from Dermot, but the city itself was declared a royal garrison and inalienable possession of the English crown. Henry passed the winter in Dublin, where he entertained the Irish chiefs who had submitted to him in a style of great pomp.

Hugh de Lacy and William de Burgo were sent against Roderic O'Connor, who, with the haughty King of Ulster, still refused all terms of submission, but the expedition, owing to the severity of the season and the difficulties of the country, proved a failure, and the army returned to Dublin.

Henry occupied the winter in organizing a government upon the plan introduced into England by the Normans. His first care was to plant the feudal system on Irish soil—a system entirely at variance with the Irish laws and customs. Strongbow and his companions surrendered their grants of land to the king, and received them again from Henry on condition of their rendering him homage and military service.

He divided his new territory into counties and set up the royal law courts in Dublin to afford the Norman settlers the privileges of the English law, but the natives were permitted to retain their ancient laws, which were as unlike the English laws as the Irish land system was unlike the feudal system now first introduced.

Before Henry could put into execution his plans of extending and securing the conquests, his stay was abruptly cut short by urgent affairs which required his immediate presence in England, and after remaining about six months in Ireland he

embarked at Wexford, April, 1172, leaving behind him not one more true subject than he had found **on** his first arrival. Though Henry never returned to Ireland he proceeded from time to time to make further grants of Irish territory to his faithful adherents.

## CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE RETURN OF HENRY II. TO ENGLAND TILL  
THE DEATH OF STRONGBOW.

The new government in Ireland was intrusted by Henry to Hugh de Lacy, with Maurice FitzGerald and Robert FitzStephen as his assistants. The celebrated John de Courcy, the tales of whose prowess are so wild and romantic, was encouraged to undertake the conquest of Ulster by a grant of all the land which he could wrest from the native possessors; and the entire province of Meath was given to Hugh de Lacy. But though the first flush of victory rested with the Normans, their hold over the country was for some time uncertain.

The submission of the Irish chieftains was merely a sham; they had been ready enough to acknowledge allegiance to Henry as lord of Ireland; they had professed to recognize the sovereignty of Roderic, and they were willing to do the same thing to a king against whom Roderic was unable to protect them. Henry pretended that the Irish chieftains had become his vassals, subjects to all the attending feudal liabilities.

Of this they had no conception, and as soon as his back was turned they set him at defiance and asserted their independence at the first moment which suited their convenience. Henry, during his short stay in Ireland, had done much to Normanize the country by making large and wholly illegal grants of territory to his followers, leaving it to them to win and keep these grants as best they could. With



the sword the Normans advanced their claims, and with the sword the Irish chieftains met them. The invaders made a brilliant appearance wrapped in steel, with their pointed helmets and shields, their heraldic bearings, their formidable weapons, and their powerful war-horses.

Beneath their banners came their well-trained, well-armed soldiers, skilled to shoot with the cross-bow and long-bow, well supplied with all the implements for the taking of cities that Roman ingenuity had devised and Norman craft perfected. The Irish galloglasses and kerns opposed to them, though not entirely unfamiliar with the use of armor, seldom indeed used it, while their weapons were in every respect inferior to those of the invaders; consequently the Normans were at first victorious everywhere: they swarmed over the country, pushing their strange names and strange ways into the homes of the time-honored clans.

The government established by Henry was acknowledged in Waterford, Wexford and Dublin, and then known as the Pale, which was a rudely fortified camp on a huge scale, whose boundaries shifted with circumstances. After Henry's departure the extension of the Norman power was intrusted to private adventurers, whose rewards were the spoils of the vanquished. When spoliation was thus legalized it is not surprising that many of the Norman leaders were unscrupulous in the selection of their victims, and seized the lands of those who acknowledged allegiance to King Henry as eagerly as the possessions of those who still withheld submission.

Indeed, the clans which had been foremost in acknowledging the Norman sovereignty were the greatest sufferers. The invaders seized their lands on any pretense or on no pretense. The governors were bribed by a share of the spoil to refuse redress,

and an appeal to Henry was difficult on account of the distance, and not likely to succeed when the crime was supposed to be favorable to the royal interests.

The distinction between the settlers and the natives was preserved more forcibly by the continuance of the Brehon or Irish laws, which dated from the earliest times and the old customs of tenure and descent. The English laws were granted only to the Norman settlers, to the citizens of the principal seaports, and to a few others as a matter of favor or policy.

Five principal clans—the O'Neills of Ulster, the O'Conors of Connaught, the O'Brians of Munster, the O'Malachys of Meath, and the MacMurroughs of Leinster—were received within the pale of the English law, but all the others were considered aliens or enemies, and could neither sue nor be sued nor plead in the English courts. At the beginning of the invasion Ireland seemed destined to a sudden subjection; the Norman forces swept over the country and scattered the disunited Irish in every fray.

At the head of his trained knights and archers, Raymond broke through the scattered host of natives and clove his way to the West, and John de Courcy, "the bravest of the brave," dashed into Ulster, and, "like an enchanted paladin," pierced his way to the Northern sea. But soon the Irish recovered from their first reverses and began to resist with such vigor and success that even John de Courcy fled more than once before the avenging arms of Roderic O'Conor and the terrible battle-axes of Donald O'Brian and his brave Dalcassians.

Scarcely had Henry departed when new commotions proved how insecure was the settlement which he had effected. Strongbow was obliged to send an army to collect the promised tribute from

O'Dempsey, a chieftain in Offaly, or Kings County. On his return his forces were suddenly attacked in a defile by the Irish chieftain, and several of his knights, including Robert de Quincy, his son-in-law, were slain.

The grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy occasioned more important tumults. Tiernan O'Rourke, Prince of Brefny and Lord of East Meath, had been confirmed in his possessions by King Henry, but he naturally feared that the formidable castles that De Lacy was erecting and garrisoning would prove too powerful for royal grants and legal claims; it was proposed, too, that they should arrange their respective boundaries in a friendly conference at the hill of Ward, near Athboy, and to that place O'Rourke and De Lacy repaired with trusty bands of their adherents.

Both sides are accused of treachery and the conference terminated in a furious conflict. De Lacy was with difficulty rescued by Maurice Fitz-Gerald, but O'Rourke was slain on the spot, with a number of his followers. Similar incidents alienated the chieftains who had submitted to the Norman rule. They found that King Henry was unwilling or unable to afford them protection against the adventurers, and they resolved to take advantage of the difficulties in which Henry was placed and make one bold effort for independence.

The readiness with which Strongbow had hastened to bring assistance to his sovereign in the latter's war with his rebellious sons effaced the jealousy and suspicion which Henry had previously entertained of his designs. Strongbow was sent back to Ireland with the authority of lord-deputy, and, with what he considered of equal importance, permission to avail himself of Raymond's abilities in any enterprise that appeared advisable. Immediately after his arrival Strongbow took care to send

to England to assist Henry in his wars those leaders whose ambition might have induced them to resist his authority, and Raymond was ordered to lead the army into the territories of the revolted chieftains. He laid waste the district of Offaly and extended his ravages into the south of Munster. He led his army, laden with plunder, to Lismore, which he sacked, and then resolved to send the spoils to Waterford for greater security.

The Prince of Desmond and the Dano-Irish of Cork, having heard of the rich stores about to be transferred to Waterford, fitted out a fleet, supported by an army, to intercept them on their passage; but on the same day they were defeated both on land and sea, and Raymond entered Waterford in all the pomp of military triumph. These victories made Raymond a great favorite with his soldiers, and his readiness to overlook their excesses secured him their affection.

His good fortune and popularity enlarged his ambition, and he proposed for Basilia, Strongbow's sister, and the office of standard-bearer of Leinster. Irritated by the refusal of both demands, Raymond suddenly returned to Wales, and the command of the army was given to Hervey de Montmorris, a man of inferior abilities, who persuaded Strongbow to attempt the subjugation of Munster.

The army, under Strongbow and Hervey, marched into Tipperary and laid waste the country, but Donald O'Brian, at the head of his Dalcassians, aided by battalions from Connaught under Roderic's son, Conor Manmoy, marched to oppose them, and in a great battle fought at Turles, totally defeated the invaders, of whom 1,700 were slain, and the few who survived fled in dismay to Waterford. The Irish, elated by this decisive victory, declared that they would never make peace until they had driven the invaders into the sea.



The new confederacy was joined by Donald Cavanagh and the other principal chiefs who had hitherto supported the Normans in all their efforts, and Roderic O'Connor was induced to place himself at the head of a confederacy which seemed to promise the fairest prospects of success. In this difficulty Strongbow sent messengers to solicit the return of the chivalric Raymond.

That valiant leader collected a new band of adventurers, including thirty knights, all of his own kindred, and crossing the sea, landed at Waterford just as the inhabitants were meditating a general rising against the garrison, which was, in consequence of Raymond's arrival, frustrated. The marriage of Raymond and Basilia was now celebrated with great pomp at Wexford, and on the following morning the bridegroom marched with all his available troops towards the North to check the advance of Roderic's army, which now threatened an attack on Dublin.

But the Irish monarch was unable to bring his forces to an engagement. Eager to secure the plunder which they had obtained in Meath, the chieftains insisted on returning home. Having repaired the castles which had been destroyed in Meath, Raymond next led his army into Munster, where he was attended by his usual good fortune, and Limerick, which had been taken by O'Brian after the battle of Turles, was recovered, and its plunder enriched the victorious army.

The prospects thus opened were threatened with speedy extinction by the jealous suspicions of King Henry. He lent a credulous ear to the tales which Hervey told of Raymond's ambition, and sent over commissioners who were charged to conduct Raymond into England. Raymond professed his readiness to obey, but while his departure was delayed by contrary winds, news arrived that the inde-



fatigable O'Brian of Thomond had again renewed the war and had already so vigorously pressed the siege of Limerick that the garrison, unless instantly relieved, must surrender.

The army, greatly attached to Raymond and conscious of its own importance, refused to march unless led by its favorite general, and the commissioners yielded a reluctant assent. The expedition into Thomond was completely successful. O'Brian's army was routed in a defile near Cashel after a stubborn resistance, in which great numbers fell on both sides, and the siege of Limerick was raised. This defeat appears to have convinced Roderic O'Conor that nothing but submission could save him from impending ruin, but disdaining to negotiate with Strongbow, he sent ambassadors to King Henry, then in England.

A treaty was concluded, which, like most treaties of the time, was observed no longer than served the purposes of the stronger party. Roderic agreed to pay tribute to Henry and to recognize him as sovereign king, for which he was confirmed in the possession of Connaught and permitted to continue monarch of Ireland beyond the English Pale.

A civil war in Desmond afforded Raymond a pretext for advancing into that country. MacCarthy, Prince of Desmond, deposed by his rebellious son, entreated the assistance of Raymond and promised a large reward if his restoration could be effected. Raymond eagerly embraced the offer, and advancing into Desmond compelled the inhabitants to submit to their rightful ruler, for which he was rewarded by the gift of some valuable lands in Kerry, which he retained and transmitted to his posterity. In the midst of his triumphs Raymond was alarmed by the receipt of a letter from his wife, Basilia, announcing the death of her brother, Strongbow, and entreating him to return with all speed to

Dublin. He knew that the Irish, notwithstanding their pretended submission, really abhorred the invaders, and he dreaded their seizing this opportunity to join in a general revolt and overwhelm the army in detail. At this juncture Raymond adopted the plan of concentrating all his forces on the Eastern coast, where assistance might easily be received from England.

He withdrew the garrison from Limerick and gave the possession of the city to O'Brian, pretending to confide in his promises of fidelity and oath of allegiance. The garrison, however, had scarcely passed over the bridge when they had the mortification of seeing it broken down behind them, and at the same time the flames that arose from the city showed how little such oaths and promises could bind the Prince of Thomond.

The funeral of Strongbow took place in Dublin with great pomp. He left no male heir, which the old chroniclers attribute to the sacrileges which he had committed or authorized. His character is drawn in very different colors by the historians of the two races. From both it appears that he possessed in no ordinary degree the military skill, romantic daring and high chivalrous valor that usually pertained to the Norman adventurer, but that his military virtues were darkened by the cruelty and rapacity inflicted on the conquered, which the Northern people and their descendants usually exhibited in their conquests.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE LAST YEARS OF RODERIC O'CONOR.

On the death of Strongbow (1177) the Norman chiefs chose his brother-in-law, Raymond FitzGerald (commonly called Raymond le Gros), their most popular and successful soldier, to the office of chief governor of Ireland until King Henry's pleasure could be known; but Henry, the English king, yielding to the jealousy and suspicion which he still entertained towards Raymond, refused his consent to their choice and appointed instead William FitzAdelm de Burgo, with John de Courcy, Robert FitzStephen and Miles de Cogan as assistants.

When Raymond went to resign his charge, surrounded by a large number of FitzGeralds, all of his own kindred, clad in bright armor, and bearing the same device on their shields, the new governor, it is said, indulging in the jealous pride of the occasion, vowed that he would soon put an end to their brilliant display and scatter those shields; and even to that early period may be traced the origin of the jealousy so often shown by the British government towards the family of the Geraldines, of which Raymond was a conspicuous member.

John de Courcy, with his brother-in-arms (who was also his brother-in-law), Amoric de St. Lawrence, invaded Ulster on his own account, and after many fierce battles finally overrun the territory now known as County Down. The men of Ulster, though taken by surprise and thrown into confusion by De Courcy and his mailed knights, returned

again and again to the charge, maintaining a bitter and wasting war against the invaders, until eventually the Norman leader was forced to make his escape, scarcely with his life, and with an almost total loss of his troops. He stood at bay near Strangford Lough, protected by fortifications, and aided by reinforcements from Dublin and from his father-in-law, Godfrey, King of the Isle of Man.

Murrough, the eldest son of Roderic O'Connor, who wished to dethrone his father, invited the Normans for that purpose to invade Connaught. Miles de Cogan entered that province with a powerful army, but the Irish laid waste the country in order to deprive their enemies of subsistence, and the Normans were forced to beat a hasty retreat. Near the Shannon they were met by Roderic and his men, who defeated them with great slaughter. The monarch's son Murrough was taken prisoner and punished with the loss of his eyes.

In 1181 Henry recalled De Burgo and appointed Hugh de Lacy chief governor; at the same time he proceeded to make further grants of Irish territory to his friends, giving Desmond, or South Munster, to Miles de Cogan and Robert FitzStephen; the Desies (the present County Waterford) to Robert le Poer; Thomond, or North Munster, to Philip de Braosa; and the whole of Connaught to De Burgo, but reserving the cities of Cork, Limerick and Waterford to himself.

As for the new settlers, they were not safe in their own forts and castles; the Irish were constantly on the watch to attack and expel them; and in consequence there was perpetual though desultory warfare going on within the Norman districts, even to the walls of the seaport cities. Henry conferred the lordship of Ireland on his favorite son John, and in 1185 sent him to undertake the government. The prince landed at Waterford in April with 400

knights and a large army. When the Irish chieftains came to do him honor they were received with mockery and derision.

The young prince and the silken flatterers by whom he was surrounded saw only persons clad differently from themselves and wearing their hair in a fashion unknown to them. They scorned the kiss of peace proffered by the chieftains, according to the national usage, and amused themselves by plucking them by the beard and ridiculing their fashion of dress. The chieftains returned home burning for revenge, and told the story of their reception to all whom they met coming to the court, spreading everywhere the account of their wrongs, until the entire island was animated by the one sentiment of deadly hostility against the Norman government.

The storm at length burst with great violence. The Norman strongholds were taken, their armies swept away, and their leaders slain. News of disaster poured in from every quarter, and the alarmed prince, having wasted all his treasure in idle pomp, had no means of paying the soldiers, nor any hold on the good-will of the first invaders, whom he had neglected or wantonly insulted.

Miles de Cogan and his son-in-law, with other knights, already had been cut off by surprise near Lismore; Robert de Barry and his whole force were surprised and slain in Waterford; the garrison of Ardfinnan, in Tipperary, decoyed into an ambuscade, was slaughtered by O'Brian, Prince of Thomond; Robert le Poer, after a gallant resistance, fell in Ossory; Canton and FitzHugh, two knights of great fame, met a similar fate, and but for the skill and valor of Theobald FitzWalter, Cork would have yielded to MacCarthy, Prince of Desmond.

Even in Meath, where the numerous castles erected by De Lacy rendered it the most secure part



of the Pale, the Normans had great difficulty in repelling a vigorous inroad of the Irish and in suppressing a rising of the O'Malachys, who had endeavored to regain their own. De Lacy himself fell a victim to the hostility of the Irish, being slain while superintending the erection of a castle on the site of the great monastery of Durrow, founded by St. Columba.

When Henry was fully informed of the ruin which threatened his Irish interests he immediately recalled John and intrusted the government to De Courcy, who, left to his own resources, acted with all the vigor the crisis demanded. He was ably seconded by young De Lacy, but he derived greater assistance from the dissensions of the Irish themselves, who, even at this most critical moment, renewed the feuds which had previously been their ruin.

In Connaught, Roderic O'Conor, being deposed by his son Conor Manmoy, retired to the monastery of Cong, where he passed the remainder of his days. De Courcy attempted to invade Connaught, invited by another son of Roderic, who wished to dethrone his brother, but the Normans were forced to retire before the united forces of Manmoy and O'Brian, Prince of Thomond, who came to the aid of the reigning son of Roderic, and De Courcy was driven from the province. In crossing the Curliou Mountains the invaders were attacked by the men of Connaught and Munster, and after suffering severely escaped with difficulty to Leinster.

The Irish now declared that they would drive the Normans from their shores. A combined effort for that purpose probably would have succeeded, but this was prevented by the jealousy of the clans and the private feuds of the Irish chieftains. No sooner was success apparently in the hands of the natives than they fell to quarreling and the foreigners were

allowed to recover all their lost ground. Several incursions were repelled by De Courcy, but the ravages were renewed at every fresh opportunity, and the country remained distracted and desolate. Affairs were in this condition when the news arrived of King Henry's death, in 1189, and the inauguration of his son, Richard I. (better known as Richard the Lion Hearted).

The same year Conor Manmoy fell a victim to a conspiracy of his own chiefs, and the West was once more plunged into civil strife, when, after a long struggle, arose Connaught's Red-Handed hero, Cathal O'Connor, "undisputed master of both field and crown." The state of Ireland at the time of King Henry's death was wretched and there was every prospect that the evils would increase rather than diminish.

Richard I. on ascending the English throne was too much busied in preparations for his romantic expedition against the Saracens of Palestine to pay much attention to Ireland. He therefore gave his brother John entire charge of the government there. One of John's first acts was to remove De Courcy from the office of chief governor and to appoint Hugh de Lacy—son of the late Hugh de Lacy—lord of Meath. De Courcy felt himself humiliated and immediately retired to his possessions in Ulster without attempting to conceal his hostility to his successor; and this dissension between these two great Norman leaders encouraged the Irish to renew their attacks on the foreigners.

The throne of Connaught was at this time possessed by Cathal O'Connor the Red-Handed, so called from the number of battles he had fought. This prince, a younger brother of Roderic and illegitimate by birth, was persecuted from infancy and had passed a life of hardship and danger among the peasantry. He was engaged with his companions

reaping in a field when the news came that opened his path to greatness. In words which became proverbial, he bade farewell to the sickle and welcomed the sword.

From the time of his entrance on the scene of strife he was the central figure in the West, around which all the movements of military and political life circled. As if under the spell of a master mind, the Norman leaders became alternately and successively his allies or his foes, as his needs required or his attacks compelled.

Soon after ascending the throne of Connaught Cathal declared himself resolved to restore the ancient honors of his name and nation, and he promised speedy vengeance on the Normans, who had usurped the fairest portions of his land and were still extending their ravages and oppressions. All the chieftains applauded these sentiments; the men of Thomond and Desmond hastened to express their approval, and the clans of Ulster sent messengers to offer their assistance.

De Courcy saw the coming storm and summoned his friend, Amoric de St. Lawrence, to his assistance. Amoric, having collected a troop of about 200 foot and 30 horse, hastened to obey his leader's summons, but passing through part of Cathal's country he fell into an ambuscade, and overwhelmed by numbers, perished with all his men.

Soon after this victory the Normans were defeated at Killaloe and again near Turles by the brave Dalcassians, led by their chief, the celebrated Donald O'Brian, King of Munster. In 1194, two years after these successes, this warlike O'Brian (who was a direct descendant of Brian Boru, the hero of Clontarf) died; but ere this star of the South had set in Munster a no less brilliant one rose in Connaught to guide the clans in their future struggles.

On the death of Donald O'Brian, Cathal O'Conor, joined by the powerful Clan O'Neill, hastened to the South to relieve his allies in their war with domestic and foreign enemies. Cork and Limerick were recovered by the Irish forces, which drove the Normans completely out of Munster. This success, however, was only transient. The ancient feud between the rival families of O'Conor and O'Neill, added to the old jealousy between North and South, broke up the Irish league; this enabled the Normans again to capture Cork and Limerick and recover other important posts in the Southern province.

In 1198, twenty-nine years after the Normans first landed in Ireland, Roderic O'Conor ended his career, in the eighty-third year of his age, at his quiet retreat in the monastery of Cong. He was the last monarch of Independent Ireland.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### EVENTS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

A new spirit was infused into the O'Connor family from the accession of Cathal the Red-Handed. During the reign of this provincial hero his clan held its own in the West by policy or by force of arms. In 1224, while the skies poured a heavy and awful shower to mingle with the tears of his country, the soul of the peasant-bred king of Connaught passed away. He died in County Galway at the Abbey of the Hill of Victory, which he had founded years before to commemorate the defeat of Amoric de St. Lawrence.

The history of Ireland from the death of Roderic O'Connor in 1198 to the landing of Edward Bruce in 1315 is one monotonous record of almost constant warfare between the natives and the settlers and of incessant strife between the rival Norman lords, who soon fell out among themselves, and had not the Irish chiefs been rendered incapable of steady combination by rivalries still more bitter and feuds still more reckless, the strangers would have been driven into the sea. During the 13th century the English Pale was often pushed into new territories when a chief governor of unusual skill and vigor took the field; it sometimes dwindled away when affairs were not prospering in England. It was held at the cost of frequent wars and constant vigilance and yielded little by way of revenue.

In every generation an attempt was made by the Irish to throw off the foreign yoke, but it was



generally made by an individual chief or a union of chiefs who resented some recent wrong. It was imperfectly supported by the nation, and among the troops of the chief governor were almost always Irish allies who hated an ambitious neighbor more than they hated the stranger. The jealousy of clans and the rivalry of chiefs prevented a national union. The patriotism which embraces in its sympathy the entire country was imperfectly understood in that rude age by men of any race or clime.

The invaders themselves, yielding to the spirit of the age, were soon divided by fierce feuds and jealousies and made war on each other on the slightest pretext, and in time many of them united with the natives in a common resistance to the English crown. The whole island had been nominally divided in enormous grants among a few Normans. The larger portions were at different times erected into counties palatine, whose lords had the privilege of making their own laws, with very little regard to the jurisdiction of the English crown and with absolute power of life and death.

The great leaders on whom the English government had conferred these privileges accordingly occupied the position of independent princes. The most powerful and the most numerous of the Norman families was that of the FitzGerald or Geraldines, who were descended from Gerald, governor of Pembroke Castle, in Wales, and Nesta, the princess of South Wales. The Geraldines had received immense grants of land in Ireland from Henry II. and his successors. They intermarried with the Irish nobility and encouraged social alliances between the settlers and the natives.

Their territories became so extensive that both Irish and Normans began to look upon the heads of the family as the chieftains of a powerful clan, who claimed and were accorded lordship over Kil-

dare and a great part of the Southern province. In 1259 the Southern Geraldines and the MacCarthys fought a great battle at Callan Glen, near Kenmare, in Kerry. There the Normans suffered perhaps the most crushing defeat that they had yet received on Irish soil, and the Munster Geraldines were almost annihilated.

The death of the victor, Florence MacCarthy, soon after, however, enabled the FitzGerald to recover from their defeat and confusion, and in time they regained their lost ground and rebuilt the numerous castles which had been taken from them and destroyed by the gallant Prince of Desmond. While the FitzGerald were firmly establishing themselves in Leinster and Munster, and branches of the great house of Butler were spreading over all Kilkenny and Tipperary, the De Burgos, or Burkes, who had firmly established themselves in Limerick and West Meath, taking advantage of the feuds of the O'Conors, were gradually obtaining a foothold in the West. The rival princes of Connaught, after the death of the able Cathal O'Connor in 1224, were blindly rushing at each other's throats in bloody civil strife: the De Burgos, strongly posted at Athlone, on the Shannon, now helping one of the combatants and then another, watched their opportunity till the country was desolate and exhausted; then they occupied the best of the land, drove out the native chiefs, and built themselves impregnable forts and castles.

Ulster had originally been granted to De Courcy, but he incurred the displeasure of King John of England, who transferred his grant to Hugh de Lacy. The whole of this vast territory in 1254 passed by marriage to the De Burgo family. But the foreign lordship of Ulster remained for a long time little more than a nominal possession. The greater part of that province was unconquered for

centuries and continued in the hands of the heroic people of the North: the great O'Neill, MacLoughlin and O'Donnell clans, and the lesser tribes of the Maguires, the O'Haras, the O'Shields, the O'Reillys, the MacMahons, the O'Hanlons, the Magennis and the O'Kanes.

A century had now elapsed since the Norman invasion, during which the bitter strife between the Norman lords, the feuds among the Irish themselves, added to the endless struggle for supremacy between native and foreigner, had brought the island to the brink of ruin. The chief governors were destitute of power or influence sufficient to restrain the turbulent barons (as the great Norman lords were called) and the English authority was hardly recognized.

In 1290 William de Vesey was appointed chief governor of Ireland and sent over to remedy these disorders, but he became involved in a contest with the Geraldines which ended in his ruin. De Vesey and John FitzGerald, Baron of Offaly, charged each other with treason, and the dispute was brought to an end by FitzGerald challenging De Vesey to mortal combat. The challenge was accepted, but when the day arrived De Vesey did not appear, having previously escaped to France. His lands were in consequence bestowed on his more valiant rival.

At the close of the 13th century the De Burgos, having obtained by successful wars, intrigue and policy extensive possessions in Connaught, Meath and Ulster, became a great power in Ireland, and powerful rivals to the Geraldines of Kildare and Desmond. Richard de Burgo, the famous "Red Earl" and chief of his house, held his court at Trim, on the Boyne, where his acts were more like those of an independent monarch than of a feudal lord.

So great was his power that at one time he de-

posed the chiefs of the O'Donnells and the O'Neills and set up those of his own choosing, and he also received hostages from the O'Conors. He was the first of the Norman barons to hold, at the same time, hostages both of Connaught and Ulster.

In 1288 a civil war broke out between De Burgo and the Geraldines, and after many conflicts the Red Earl and his brother William were taken prisoners and carried in fetters to FitzGerald's castle in Offaly. Soon after a parliament, assembled at Kilkenny, ordered their release, and a peace was made between those rival houses, which was strengthened soon after by the marriage of De Burgo's daughters to Maurice and Thomas FitzGerald, afterwards the heads of the illustrious houses of Desmond and Kildare.

At the close of the 13th century the Irish clans of the East and South were driven to the more wild and mountainous districts, while a large portion of Connaught and the greater part of Ulster yet remained to them. Sometimes the natives purchased the aid of the Norman adventurers in their feuds with their own countrymen. Sometimes the Irish were seen marching beneath the banners of a Norman lord to invade the territory of a neighbor. Occasionally Normans with Irish allies met in the shock of battle other Normans with their Irish allies.

The history of Ireland during this century is mainly the history of a few great Irish and Norman families. Through this long period of warfare and confusion there was no dearth of jarring elements, but, properly speaking, no Irish nation. Both native and foreigner were almost equally turbulent and lawless. The Norman supremacy in Ireland was perhaps at its height at the close of the 13th century. The Norman lords built great castles and lived in them a life of rough independence. They



ruled their tenants with a curious mixture of Irish and Norman law after their own fashion.

In the Norman towns which were gradually established in the island under the protection of one or another of the great foreign lords the language and customs for a long time were mainly Norman-French. It was as if some town of Normandy, in France, had been transplanted in Ireland, with its well-guarded ramparts, on which the citizens' wives and daughters walked during quiet evenings in times of peace, its busy, crowded streets thronged with citizens of all trades and crafts, but ever ready to suspend all business, to drop awl or hammer, net or knife, and rush to arms to attack or to repel the Irish enemy.

For outside the ramparts of these Norman towns on Irish soil, outside the last bastion of the lords' strongholds lay the Irish, a separate and a hostile people, ever attacked and ever ready to attack. The Norman lords with their forces from time to time swept over the fertile fields of the Irish and seized upon the stores that the natives had placed in their churches and churchyards, as they were accustomed to do before they took to building castles for themselves.

The Irish retaliated whenever and wherever they could, and for a long time there was little alliance between them. In one respect the Norman lords showed themselves religious: their remorse for their wild, lawless acts covered the country with monastic foundations, some of which still remain to show that though the Normans lusted after land and plunder like their kinsmen, the Danes, unlike the latter they improved, they created, they enriched wherever they conquered.



## CHAPTER XVII.

### EDWARD BRUCE CROWNED KING OF IRELAND.

The alliance between the De Burgos and the Geraldines, whose hostility had hitherto been one of the great sources of internal quarrels, promised to secure the Pale an interval of tranquillity, but a new storm soon burst upon the Normans in Ireland, which at one time seriously threatened their destruction. No fact, perhaps, in the history of the two countries is better authenticated than the unity of origin and feeling which existed between the natives of Ireland and Scotland.

This natural sympathy of race was further strengthened by their common language and struggles with the Normans, a people by whom both had been wantonly oppressed. In 1314 the decisive victory of Robert Bruce and his gallant Scots at the memorable battle of Bannockburn over the army of England produced great excitement in Ireland and was the signal for a general revolt among the Ulster chiefs.

The Irish felt a deep sympathy for the Scots, a kindred people, in their splendid efforts for independence, and when Robert Bruce had fled after his coronation to the Island of Rathlin, off the coast of Antrim, in 1306, the Northern chiefs supplied him with 700 men to aid in the recovery of his kingdom. Overtures were made by the Ulster chieftains to Robert Bruce after his great victory over his enemies for the dispatch to them of his brother Edward, to whom they were willing to offer the crown of Ire-

land provided Robert himself would come to assist them in a war for Irish independence. Bruce accepted the proposal and speedily sent over his brother. On the 25th of May, 1315, Edward Bruce, at the head of 6,000 hardy veterans, landed on the coast of Antrim and was immediately joined by Donald O'Neill, King of Ulster, and twelve other Irish chiefs.

The combined forces fell upon the Norman settlements in the North and massacred the colonists with as little mercy as they had themselves experienced. The Norman lords, surprised by the fierce onset of the Scotch-Irish forces and divided among themselves, were unable to resist their rapid career. Bruce and O'Neill marched towards the South, laying waste the country with fire and sword, routing their enemies and capturing their strongholds. Castles were stormed; Dundalk, Coleraine, Ardee and almost every town of note in Ulster was reduced to ashes, and in a short time no trace of the Normans remained in the North but the desolation of their former buildings. The news of these successes spread dismay through the entire Pale. Several of the Norman lords were disposed to make terms with Bruce; others hastened to secure their possessions in Leinster and Munster.

Richard de Burgo, the Red Earl, made vigorous exertions. He mustered every disposable force at Roscommon and marched to Athlone, where he was joined by Felim O'Connor, King of Connaught, with his clansmen. The two hostile armies soon faced each other on opposite sides of the River Bann. Secret overtures were now made by Bruce to Felim, promising him the secure possession of Connaught if he would abandon De Burgo and join the national cause.

Felim, who appears to have decided to join Bruce, was suddenly recalled to Connaught by an

insurrection headed by one of his own rivals, and the Red Earl, thus weakened, began to retreat, but was speedily followed by Bruce and compelled to risk an engagement. A battle was fought September, 1315, at Castle Conor, in Antrim, in which the Normans were defeated with severe loss, and the earl with the remnant of his force fled back to Connaught.

Bruce now laid siege to Carrickfergus, but with the main body of his army marched into Meath, defeated the enemy in several engagements, particularly in a decisive battle near Kells, where Edmund Butler, the chief governor, and his forces were routed and many killed on both sides. Bruce spent his Christmas and a great part of the winter at one of the castles of his friends, the De Lacys, in West Meath, attended by the principal Irish chiefs of Ulster and Meath. He next advanced into Kildare, his progress being opposed by Sir Edmund Butler and several of the lords of Leinster and Munster, who had collected a large force. A battle was fought near Athy, in which Bruce was again victorious. The principal Irish chiefs of Leinster now joined Bruce, as did some of the Norman settlers and a few of the great lords. The De Lacys already had declared themselves adherents of the Scottish chief. Butler, however, put down a rising of the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes of Wicklow and speedily followed up his advantage till the O'Moores, MacMurroughs and other Leinster clans were reduced to submission.

The majority of the native clergy and some of the Norman ecclesiastics embraced the popular side, and, confident of success, Edward Bruce was solemnly crowned king of Ireland at Dundalk. In the meantime Felim O'Conor's absence from Connaught had given a fresh opportunity to the spirit of usurpation and violence which too often had char-

acterized his family and enfeebled his province and his country.

One of his kinsmen compelled most of the Connaught clans to submit during their chief's absence, but Felim's sudden return from the North put an end to the plans of the usurper, who, after a brief struggle, was defeated and slain, and once more Felim assumed the sovereignty of Connaught. Joined by some of the Southern chieftains and by all the lesser chiefs of the West, many of whom had hitherto remained neutral, the gallant Felim turned upon the Normans in Connaught and overthrew them in a number of brilliant engagements, in which De Exeter, De Cogan and other lords fell before him.

A struggle for existence now began on the part of the Geraldines, the De Burgos and the Butlers. Troops were rapidly collected and sent to aid the government at Dublin. John FitzGerald, Baron of Offaly, and Sir Edmund Butler made strenuous exertions to baffle Bruce and his allies. FitzGerald, as a reward for his services, was created Earl of Kildare, and the title of Earl of Carrick was conferred on Butler.

Of the hostile clans the most formidable were those of Connaught, led by the young and valiant Felim O'Connor, who now atoned for his former defection by indomitable energy and daring enterprises. Felim was at the head of a large force which threatened the annihilation of Norman sway in Connaught when William de Burgo, brother of the Earl of Ulster, and John de Bermingham were given the command of a powerful army and sent into the Western districts to come to a decisive engagement with him.

The 10th of August, 1316, a great battle ensued, perhaps the best fought and most important since the Norman invasion. The battle took place



before the walls of Athenry, the chief stronghold of the De Burgos and De Berminghams in Connaught. The commanders were worthy of one another and the conduct of the troops was not unworthy of their commanders.

The mounted knights and mail-clad warriors reeled and retreated more than once before the assaults of the impetuous clans. Their strength was nearly exhausted and their bravest leaders slain, but the example of the gallant survivors reanimated the courage of their men. Bermingham led, rallied, fought over the whole field. His prowess was everywhere displayed; his heroic glow communicated itself to every soldier. It was a scene for which he was eminently fitted, and a day such as he coveted. His bold and impassioned genius was admirably supported by the prudent and resolute De Burgo, who restored stability wherever he turned, and whose prompt resources supplied every need. On the other hand, the Irish troops showed themselves thoroughly impressed with the greatness of the occasion and determined to wipe away the stains of so many previous disasters.

Vengeance inflamed their characteristic hate and fury, and a sense of the great crisis gave them uncommon force, firmness and fortitude. Wave after wave they precipitated themselves upon the foe, who withstood them like marshaled cliffs along the seashore and beat them back again and again. This moment they recoiled; the next they hurried forward with a vehemence which spread havoc before it. Thrice they broke the adverse lines, which superior discipline soon knitted together again. In their repeated assaults upon the iron ranks opposed to them they suffered dreadful carnage.

The Norman troops rarely advanced, but when they did Felim's rapid rushing from post to post, always accompanied by brilliant achievements, resem-



bled successive flashes of lightning. The battle raged from dawn till sunset with unabated fury. With such commanders and such combatants victory must be in doubt on which party to place her laurels.

At length the fortune of the Norman arms prevailed. The King of Connaught, in the 23d year of his age, fell, and 8,000 of his men, by their conduct, fidelity to their cause and their death, consecrated the field of Athenry.

The power of the O'Connor family by this disastrous battle was almost destroyed and the entire province of Connaught for a time placed at the mercy of De Bermingham and De Burgo. This Norman victory inflicted well-nigh irretrievable injury on the national cause, while it inspired the enemy with renewed courage. Bermingham was immediately made commander-in-chief of the Norman forces in Ireland and created Baron of Athenry. Edward Bruce was more than a year in Ireland when his brother Robert, King of Scotland, came over with reinforcements to help him. Activity was now resumed. Carrickfergus, whose garrison had so long endured privations, surrendered to the royal brothers. Having collected an army of 20,000 men, the Bruces extended their ravages to the very walls of Dublin and filled that city with consternation. De Burgo, the Red Earl, who was the father-in-law of the Scottish king, was thrown into prison by the mayor of Dublin on suspicion of secretly favoring the Bruces, nor could the remonstrance of the English government speedily obtain his release.

The authorities and citizens of Dublin made such active preparations for defense that a siege at that season of the year without a larger army, aided by a fleet to cut off supplies from England, seemed hopeless. The King of Scotland now returned home to attend to urgent affairs in his own domin-

ions, but before his departure he promised to rejoin his brother at an early day. The burning and plundering of towns, castles and churches were carried into Kildare and Tipperary, and even to the vicinity of Limerick, but Murty O'Brian, Prince of Thomond, declared against the Scots and joined the enemy.

The devastations of Bruce's soldiers alienated the affection of the people, who were previously disposed to regard him as a liberator. The Irish chiefs of Munster were either neutral or actively hostile and the Geraldines were enabled to collect an army sufficiently powerful to prevent his further advance. The want of provisions brought on by the failure of the harvest and the desolating war foiled all of Bruce's plans and embarrassed every movement. The excesses of Bruce appear to have been the chief causes of his final ruin. The desolated country had nothing left to support his army; famine and pestilence thinned his ranks; indiscriminate plunder of friend and foe caused many of his Irish allies to fall away.

Bruce was at length compelled to retire to Ulster with the remnant of his forces, now reduced to 3,000 men. In 1317 the harvest again failed, not only in Ireland but also in Scotland and England, and enforced a melancholy truce between the contending armies, but the next year there was an early and abundant harvest and both parties prepared for a renewal of hostilities. Meanwhile the Geraldines had collected a formidable force of 30,000 men. These were soon reinforced by the new chief governor, Roger Mortimer, who had arrived with a train of forty knights and their attendants.

With abundant supplies from Scotland, Bruce was enabled to take the field in the summer of 1318, and, joined by the Irish of Ulster, with the De Lacys serving under his banner, the Scottish leader

again marched to Dundalk on his way towards the South with an army of 3,000 men—Scots, Irish and Normans.

Edward's brother, the King of Scotland, was hourly expected with an auxiliary force. Consequently all the leaders wisely advised Bruce to defer a decisive engagement with the enemy till the arrival of these reinforcements, but Edward, jealous of his brother's fame, decided to fight without such aid and win the whole glory of victory, of which he felt certain after his numerous triumphs in Ireland. The Ulster chiefs also advised him to avoid a pitched battle, to which he would not consent, and it appears that in consequence of this refusal they withdrew from his standard and took their departure, leaving the self-willed king to meet the overwhelming force of the enemy as best he could. A force of 10,000 men was soon dispatched from Dublin to meet Bruce; these were placed under John de Bermingham, the commander-in-chief, and the army was accompanied by the archbishop of Armagh, who went to give counsel to the living and consolation to the dying.

When they entered Louth they found the Scottish army posted at the Faughard, a remarkable mound near Dundalk, about seventy feet high, and surrounded by a deep trench. The hostile armies neared each other October 14, 1318. The impetuous Bruce, at the head of his heroes, began the attack, charging the enemy with great gallantry, and soon the action became general. The battle was decided by the death of Bruce not long after the armies engaged, and the Normans avenged the suffering which had been inflicted upon them by a terrible slaughter of their enemies.

After the battle the body of Edward Bruce was found stretched on the ground in the midst of the slain, and over him was extended the lifeless form

of John de Maupas, a Norman knight, by whose hand Bruce fell. The victors cut off the head of Ireland's king, which was presented by De Bermingham to King Edward II. of England, who in return conferred upon that general the earldom of Louth and a royal pension.

Soon after the battle Robert Bruce arrived on the coast, but hearing of his brother's fate he immediately returned to Scotland and the war was at an end. The body of Bruce was buried on the hill of Faughard and a large pillar stone erected to mark his grave.

Edward Bruce was a man of fine appearance, of great spirit, ambition and bravery, but fiery, rash and impetuous, lacking that rare combination of prudence and valor which so conspicuously marked the character of his renowned brother Robert, the hero-king of Scotland. The death of Bruce blighted the hopes of the Irish people. The power of their enemies revived and the former system of ascendancy, spoliation and revenge again was universally established.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### FUSION OF THE MILESIAKS AND THE NORMANS.

The war with Bruce was at an end, but the shock to the foreign system in Ireland was severe and the consequences far-reaching. The inability of the English government to protect its own subjects had been learned to their cost in the late war, and the result was the gradual falling away of many of the settlers from their allegiance to the English crown to unite themselves with the natives for their better security.

Time and convenience also had gradually drawn the Norman lords and the Irish chiefs into mutual toleration. The hostilities lessened, the hatreds waned. They began to take wives from among the daughters of the Irish chiefs and the latter began to marry the daughters of the Normans. The consequence was that many of them became gradually weaned away from their former habits, customs and ideas. By degrees they abandoned their strange garb, their foreign speech, and frequently even their Norman names, to adopt instead the Irish dress, names, language and law.

The transformed barons aspired to be independent Irish chieftains, like their new allies, "whose will was law and whose law was license," till it became proverbial that "they were more Irish than the Irish themselves." The English government witnessed with jealous anger the natural process of assimilation and vainly strove from time to time to arrest its course. The conversion of Norman bar-



ons into Irish chieftains, despite the opposition of the government, steadily increased from day to day. In 1356 it was proclaimed that no one born in Ireland should hold any of the government's towns or castles, and no public employment in Ireland or office of trust, honor or profit in that country should be exercised by any except English by birth. But this proved unsuccessful and sterner measures were resorted to at a parliament held at Kilkenny in 1367.

This parliament decreed heavy penalties on all settlers who should adopt the Irish name, speech or customs. The Norman who dared to marry an Irish woman was to be half hanged, mutilated, disemboweled alive and lose his estate. The fostering of Norman with Irish children and the maintenance of Irish bards were also sternly prohibited. But the government had not at the time the power to enforce these restrictive laws, which, like others of the same character passed from time to time, became, for the most part, a dead letter and only served to further exasperate both natives and settlers.

The parliaments were held in those times wherever local convenience required—often at Dublin, sometimes at Kilkenny—and were, for the most part, submissive instruments of the chief governor. There is not to be found in any act of parliament or ordinance made in Ireland at this period the least suggestion that the natives had any right or duty except to enrich the invaders. A chief governor in those days was usually a powerful courtier, who was allowed to plunder Ireland, often without taking the trouble to visit it; sometimes he was one of the great absentees who drew immense incomes from the country and performed none of the duties for which his lands had been granted. It naturally happened that many of them were recalled and cast into

prison and that some lost their lives for being in too great haste to grow rich and too little mindful of the interest of their royal master.

Occasionally the experiment was made of intrusting the office to the Earl of Kildare or the Earl of Desmond, chiefs of the great Norman-Irish family of FitzGerald, but they were watched with constant suspicion and sometimes ended their official career in the Tower of London; sometimes to the Earl of Ormond, chief of the rival family of the Butlers, who were more cautious or more politic, and managed better to preserve the favor of the courts.

The result of the struggle with Bruce to the settlers who held their land as tenants of the great barons was disastrous. Many of them were utterly ruined by the late devastating war, during which the royal troops, left without pay, lived at free quarters on the settlers. The total lack of security for life and property compelled great numbers of the colonists to leave the country. Those who remained took refuge among the native Irish, whose ranks they strengthened and with whom they soon became assimilated in language and manners, and the deserted lands were re-occupied by the ancient clans. Some of the great Norman-Irish lords encouraged this movement.

Maurice FitzGerald of Desmond let loose his soldiers on the settlers in Kerry, Limerick, Cork and Waterford and filled with his Irish adherents the lands which thus became depopulated. All Desmond, or South Munster, and a large portion of Leinster were in this way, about the middle of the 14th century, cleared of their foreign population. The O'Conors and the O'Moores swarmed out of the Slieve Bloom Mountains and recovered Offaly and Leix (the present Kings and Queens Counties); the MacMurroughs recovered County Carlow and

half of County Wexford, while the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes were raiding with success from the hills of Wicklow upon the fertile plains of Kildare. The clans of Ulster and Connaught became more aggressive and were harassing the English Pale very effectively. The Norman-Irish families were generally and rapidly falling from the English connection and blending with the native population. In 1333 William De Burgo, Lord of Connaught and Earl of Ulster, was murdered in a family quarrel; his widow, in terror, fled to England, leaving her territories undefended. The O'Neills, seeing their opportunity, took up arms, and passing the River Bann drove out the settlers from the territory of De Burgo (comprising the modern County Antrim and part of County Down) after a desperate resistance, and then they divided the recovered lands among themselves. The earl's portion in Connaught, comprising the present Counties of Galway and Mayo, was seized by two members of the De Burgo family, Ulick and Edmond, the ancestors respectively of the Earls of Clanricard and of Mayo.

The two De Burgos then divided the territory between them, Ulick taking Galway and Edmond Mayo. They then threw off all allegiance to the English crown, adopted the Irish dress and manners, took the name of MacWilliam, and assumed the character of Irish chieftains. Two other branches of the same family took the names of MacHubbard and MacDavid. De Bermingham of Athenry took the name of MacYorris and De Exeter of MacJordan. These examples were extensively followed.

After the struggle with Bruce such was the weakness of the English government that in 1328 James Butler was made Earl of Ormond, and soon afterwards Maurice FitzGerald was created Earl of Desmond, the government in this way intending to secure their support and allegiance. With the same

object in view the existing number of palatines was raised to nine. These, including the territories of the two lately created earls, were made almost independent principalities, whose lords exercised all the rights of sovereign princes, made barons and knights, exercised both criminal and civil jurisdiction, appointed their own officers of justice, and claimed the right of making war and peace at their pleasure. Under such circumstances the authority of the government was merely nominal and the colony was in effect divided into several independent sovereignties beyond the control of the English crown.

The O'Neills and the MacMahons of Ulster, the O'Conors and the O'Kellys of Connaught, drove out or reduced the foreign settlers in those provinces, and the Leinster clans were gradually narrowing the Pale and claiming their own. The great earls of Desmond were becoming more Irish than Norman and acknowledged a bare allegiance to the English crown, but were virtually independent. Thomond, or North Munster, the home of the O'Brians, had never been regularly colonized by the invaders, for there the brave Dalcassians had maintained with perseverance, despite many reverses, the cause of Irish independence. More than one-half of Meath was repossessed by the O'Malachys, the MacGeoghegans and other native clans.

Leinster was so honeycombed with the Irish tribes that little now remained to settlers in that province but the walled towns. The great earls of Kildare and the earls of Ormond were almost as independent and Irish as the earls of Desmond. The actual country where the English laws were in force half a century after the war with Bruce consisted of the County of Dublin and portions of Meath, Louth and Wexford.

The crown had by this time abandoned the idea of subduing the Celtic Irish as hopeless, and as it



found the old settlers slipping from its control its policy became one of self-defense. To weaken the great Norman-Irish lords; to destroy their power by fostering feuds between them; to play off one against the other, and to fill all offices of state with imported officials, to the exclusion of the old settlers, became ruling principles of the English government. In pursuance of this new policy the great Norman-Irish lords were alternately coerced and rewarded.

In 1331 Maurice FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond, was arrested by the chief governor, who flung him into Dublin Castle and kept him there eighteen months. In 1341 King Edward III. of England proposed to confiscate all the lands of the great Norman-Irish lords. The outraged Earl of Desmond and his party roused the threatened nobility and a convention of the prelates, nobles and commons of Ireland was held at Kilkenny. This convention made so spirited and vigorous a protest against the injustice of the king that Edward, full of his French wars, thought better of his purpose and let the matter drop.

Stronger measures were taken in 1344 under Ufford, the chief governor, who treacherously seized the Earl of Desmond, and by the same nefarious means got possession of some of his castles and hanged the commanders. But later, when King Edward was glad to have an Irish force in his war with France, he conferred knighthood on the Earl of Kildare for his services at the siege of Calais, and the Earl of Desmond was made chief governor of Ireland (1354). The ancient feuds among the Irish chieftains had lost none of their intensity with time, and we find their arms, perhaps, turned as often against their own race as against their common enemies.

On the other hand, the Pale presented a scene of no less anarchy and confusion. The settlers



were divided into two distinct classes, parties or factions (the old settlers and the English by birth), animated by intense jealousy and hatred. In official language the native Irish had long been known as the "Irish enemy," and now the old settlers began to be called the "Irish rebels." The Irish enemy were following up the retreating strangers and gradually extending their conquests. Newcastle was assailed by the clans of Wicklow; the O'Brians captured Limerick in 1370, and the Mac-Murroughs, who had been devastating Leinster, were bought off by the payment of a large sum.

The union of the Irish chiefs in one common effort at this period would, in all probability, have enabled them to recover the whole island, but this was prevented by their own dissensions and folly, and thus they lost the glorious opportunity of driving the strangers into the sea.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### ART MAC MURROUGH, KING OF LEINSTER.

King Richard II. of England, son of Edward the Black Prince, landed at Waterford in October, 1394, with an army of 30,000 archers and 4,000 men-at-arms, determined to complete the conquest begun over two centuries before, in which, as yet, but very little real progress had been made. Such a powerful force, led by the king in person, could not be resisted by the divided Irish.

As soon as Richard landed the native chieftains and the Norman-Irish barons hastened to tender their allegiance and perform homage. Richard was satisfied with this appearance of submission. He traversed the country in all the pomp of military triumph, and soon returned to England, after having expended enormous sums and performed absolutely nothing. A cousin of the king, Roger Mortimer, the young Earl of March, was left at the head of affairs in Ireland. In 1398, when the government attempted to plant an English colony in Wicklow, the natives of that wild district rose under Art MacMurrough, King of Leinster, captured Carlow, and defeated the royal army at Kells, the young Earl of March being among the slain. When Richard heard of Mortimer's death he resolved to avenge it.

He raised a magnificent army and again landed at Waterford in June, 1399. MacMurrough denounced the wrongfulness of the original occupation of Ireland and declared his determination to

undo it. When Richard marched against him he hovered around the vast armament with a body of 3,000 men, whose disciplined activity kept the English in constant alarm.

When the foreign army prepared for battle MacMurrough disappeared. The march was slow and distressing to the foreigners; the active Irish harassed them perpetually till their provisions were almost exhausted. When the foreigners were off their guard the Irish suddenly dashed on their path with wild shouts, striking dismay into the hearts of their enemies, while their spears smote through shield and armor. Richard offered pardon, territories and towns to the chief if he would submit, as his uncle and others had done, but his offer was boldly rejected.

At last the English king was glad to beat an inglorious retreat to save his army from total destruction. Having thus thwarted Richard and humbled his pride, MacMurrough sent to him proposing a conference. The Earl of Gloucester and the Irish chief met at a place appointed, but came to no conclusion, as MacMurrough absolutely refused to consent to anything more than a nominal submission. Richard vowed he would not leave Ireland until MacMurrough, dead or alive, was in his hands. He marched to Dublin with his half-starved troops and offered a hundred golden marks for MacMurrough's head.

News soon came that a rival to Richard's throne had appeared in England. He immediately returned to that country to find his kingdom lost and to end his life soon after in prison, and Ireland was left to take care of itself. A French knight named Cretton, who accompanied King Richard to Ireland, wrote a curious and interesting narrative of this expedition, from which the following passages are taken: "After six days' stay at Waterford the

English king marched to Kilkenny, where he remained fourteen days, and then marched toward Art MacMurrough, who styled himself King of Ireland by right, and who professed to maintain the war and to defend the land unto his death, saying that the conquest thereof was wrongful.

“MacMurrough remained in his house, surrounded by woods, which were guarded with 3,000 stout men, such as it seemed to me the Englishmen marveled to behold. At the entry of the wood Richard’s army was ranged into order expecting to fight; but the Irishmen did not then appear, whereupon King Richard commanded the houses in the woods to be burned, which was immediately done, and many villages fired. King Richard’s standard, whereon he had three leopards, was advanced, under which he knighted the Duke of Lancaster’s son, a fair youth, and to honor him the more he made, at the same time, eight or ten other knights.

“King Richard now commanded 2,500 of the country people to cut down the wood that his way might be made passable, which was then overgrown with trees and guarded by the enemy, and, besides, so boggy that in divers places as the soldiers marched they sank up to the reins in mire and could not overtake the Irish in their retreat. An open pass being made, the Irish in the passage through it made such cries and clamors as might have been heard a good league off, but still avoided us for fear of our archers; yet they assailed us often both in van and rear, casting their darts with such might as no habergeon or coat of mail were of sufficient proof to resist their force, their darts piercing them through both sides.

“Our foragers that strayed from their fellows were often murdered by the Irish, for they were so nimble and swift of foot that, like unto stags, they ran over mountains and valleys; thereby we received

great annoyance and damage. Nevertheless, Richard's army, that was courageous and hearty, became so fearful unto them, as MacMurrough's uncle, accompanied with divers others, bare-legged and unshod, with halters about their necks, humbly submitted themselves to the king, falling prostrate at his feet, craving mercy, whom the king freely pardoned, conditionally that he and his companions should receive an oath from that time forward to continue his true and loyal subjects.

"This being done the king sent to MacMurrough to submit, with a halter about his neck, as his uncle had done, and he would not only grant him the like mercy, but in these places he would bestow upon him castles, towns and ample territories. Unto the king's messengers MacMurrough made no answer but this: 'That for all the gold in the world he would not submit himself, but would continue to war and damage the king with all his power,' which bold answer proceeded from the knowledge he had that the king's army wanted victuals, and that for money there it could not be supplied, the present necessity whereof was such that for the space of eleven days the soldiers had lived only upon what they could find in the country, formerly wasted, which was very little; their horses were faint and almost starved, as well for want of food as by standing uncovered in the rain and wind, and of this famine many of the king's army perished.

"A biscuit in one day between five men was thought good allowance, and some in five days together had not a bit of bread; knights, esquires and gentlemen likewise felt the misery, and for mine own part I wished myself without one penny in my purse at Paris. In this time three ships laden with victuals came from Dublin and the hungry soldiers, greedy of food, waded into the sea above the reins



to come to the ships, where in disorder, not abiding by the order for the disposing of the victuals, they rifled the same and spoiled them, and in the confusion many a blow was given and received amongst themselves.

“Hereupon the next day the king marched towards Dublin, the enemy attending us with fierce and fearful outcries and skirmishing often with us.”

At this time MacMurrough proposed a conference with King Richard and the narrative thus proceeds: “This news brought much joy into the English camp and the king, by the advice of his council, sent the Earl of Gloucester, attended with a guard of 200 lancers and 1,000 good archers. Among other gentlemen, I was one that went with them to see MacMurrough, his behavior, estate and forces, and to what issue the treaty would grow into. Between two woods not far from the sea MacMurrough, attended by multitudes of the Irish, descended from a mountain, mounted upon a horse without a saddle, which cost him, as it was reported, 400 cows, for in that country they bartered by exchange horses for beasts and one commodity for another, and not for ready money.

“His horse was fair, and in his descent from the hill to us he ran as swift as any stag, hare, or the swiftest beast that I have seen. In his right hand he bore a great long dart, which he cast from him with much dexterity. At a woodside his men staid behind him and he met the earl at a little ford. He was of tall stature, well composed, strong and active, and his countenance fierce and severe. Much speech passed between the earl and him, but the parley produced little effect.

“MacMurrough departed to his men and the Earl of Gloucester to King Richard, to whom he recounted all the conversation between them. The king at this report was much enraged, swearing by

St. Edward that he would never depart out of Ireland until he had MacMurrough in his hands, living or dead. Immediately upon the earl's return with the answer aforesaid the king broke up camp and the next day marched to the City of Dublin, which is a good town, the best in that realm, seated upon the sea and rich in merchandise, where we found such plenty of victuals to relieve our army, horse and foot, consisting of 30,000 or thereabouts, that the prices of the same did not much increase. The king could not forget MacMurrough, to persecute him, and divided his army into three parts, commanding them to hunt him in his woods, and promised to give him that could take him, alive or dead, an hundred marks in gold; but in my opinion it was impossible to be effected while the leaves were upon the trees, but after that time, when the trees were bare, then to burn the woods would be the best means to do service upon him, and not otherwise.

"During the space of six weeks we remained in Dublin, where we lived in joy and delight, but in all that time, by reason of foul weather and contrary winds, we never heard out of England, which undoubtedly, in my opinion, was a presage that God was displeased with the king."

The Earl of Ormond was made chief governor in 1405 and soon after fought a desperate battle with Art MacMurrough. To supplement a doubtful victory the stern laws of Kilkenny, with a view of preventing the assimilation of the settlers with the natives, were renewed. In 1408 the Duke of Lancaster, second son of King Henry IV. of England, succeeded Ormond. The new executive the same year attacked MacMurrough, who had encamped at Kilmainham, near Dublin, and in a fight in which at least 10,000 men were arrayed on each side, suffered a total defeat. The duke was chased to the very gates of Dublin by the Irish chief and

escaped only with his life, wounded and humbled. One result of this decisive battle of Kilmainham was that no further attacks were made on Art MacMurrough by the foreigners. The continued success of the Irish procured the appointment of Sir John Talbot as chief governor in 1414.

He made a show of activity by joining several lesser chiefs successively in attacks on each other, but he did not turn the tide of victory. In 1418 Talbot, just before his departure from Ireland, attempted to plunder MacGennis of Down, but was repulsed, pursued and utterly defeated by that chief. The O'Haras defeated and slew De Exeter; O'Connor, Lord of Offaly (now Kings County), overcame and despoiled the settlers of Meath, and MacMurrough compelled the foreigners of Waterford to give him hostages.

This was the last of MacMurrough's long list of triumphs. He died at Ross, January, 1417, in the 60th year of his age. "He was," says the ancient annalist, "one of the greatest heroes the world ever saw. Had I the tongue of men and angels I would never be able to relate his merits. The mighty defender of his injured kindred, the valiant avenger of tyranny and oppression, the sure refuge of the weak and distressed, the patron of literature and of science, the glory of chivalry—is gone."

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE EARLS OF ORMOND, DESMOND AND KILDARE.

The latest attempt to subdue Ireland by means of an English army had signally failed and the remnant of the settlers were allowed to struggle on alone against the hostile clans. Henry IV., who had succeeded Richard II. on the English throne, was too busily engaged in suppressing the numerous insurrections which the defect of his title encouraged to pay much regard to the state of Ireland. His son, Henry V., preferred the laurels acquired in France to the doubtful advantages which might have been acquired nearer home.

During these reigns (1399 to 1422) the Irish clans acquired fresh power and territory. They hemmed in the settlers on every side and in many instances were paid a large tribute for granting the strangers a precarious protection. The statute of Kilkenny which forbade the mingling of the races ceased to be observed, for there was not sufficient force to exact the penalties for its violation. The Norman-Irish barons became Irish chieftains; the exactions of "coyne and livery" (free maintenance of the troops on the peasantry), according to the ancient usage of the country, were imposed in open violation of the English law.

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, the representative of the oldest surviving branch of the royal family, was held in high esteem for his great ability and virtues. The claims of the house of York to the crown of England began to be canvassed pub-

licly, and the disgrace of the English arms in France rendered the people still more discontented with the reigning house of Lancaster.

With the object of removing the Duke of York from England, where his presence was dangerous to Henry's crown, the government appointed him in 1449 Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with extraordinary powers and privileges. The administration of York is one of the brightest periods in Irish history during the 15th century. For years afterward it was quoted as the time when peace and prosperity ruled the land; when excesses of factions were restrained by impartial justice; when the Celtic Irish, the new and old settlers, forgetting former animosities, seriously applied themselves to improving the country which they inhabited in common.

Though aware of the attachment of the Earl of Ormond to the house of Lancaster, the duke received him with the same kindness that he showed to the Geraldines and De Burgos, his own faithful adherents. His transactions with the Irish chieftains were marked with a regard for justice and good faith such as had been rarely shown by former governors; and what none of them had evinced, he displayed an anxious desire to improve the condition of the peasantry and to protect them from the oppressive exactions of their lords.

Such a wise government, as excellent as it was rare, was rewarded by the attachment of all classes. After Jack Cade's rebellion, which was supposed to have been secretly contrived by the Duke of York, King Henry sent orders to the sheriffs of the western counties commanding them to oppose the landing of the duke, who had declared his anxiety to justify his conduct and his determination to face his accusers.

Embarking with a small train in 1451 he landed in Wales, and, eluding all opposition, speeded to



London, where he was, for the time, reconciled to the king. In 1454 Edward FitzEustace, a knight of great military fame, was appointed chief governor. The O'Conors of Offaly (now Kings County) were the first to experience the rigor of the new governor. He surprised this warlike clan engaged in a predatory expedition and inflicted on them a severe defeat.

The O'Neills, ever the most hostile to the settlers, hearing that a rich fleet was sailing from the bay of Dublin, fitted out some barks, attacked and took the ships, plundered the cargoes and made all the passengers prisoners. The governor immediately hastened to attack the victors, and the O'Neills, being joined by some other clans, advanced to intercept the invasion. The two armies met at Ardglass, and after a fierce engagement the Irish were defeated with the loss of 700 slain and a still greater number, including all their principal leaders, made prisoners. The Duke of York, who had taken up arms against the reigning family, having suffered a defeat in 1459, fled for safety to Ireland, while he and his adherents were declared traitors by the English parliament.

Both settlers and natives received their favorite governor rather as a sovereign prince than as a destitute fugitive. The parliament of the Pale passed an act for his protection, and further decreed that whoever should attempt to disturb him should be guilty of high treason. An agent of the Earl of Ormond violated the law and was immediately executed. Several laws equally designed for the duke's service were passed with the utmost enthusiasm. Soon afterwards the Yorkists, having obtained a great victory at Northampton, invited the duke to come over and lead his partisans in person.

On this occasion the attachment of his Irish adherents was eminently displayed. They crowded

to his standard with the utmost zeal and the Pale was almost deserted by the settlers, who hastened to enroll themselves under the banners of the White Rose, the badge or symbol of the house of York. With a gallant train of devoted followers, many of whom were native chieftains, Richard returned to London, but the war was unexpectedly renewed and the duke was attacked before he could make adequate preparations.

With only 5,000 men, mostly his Irish adherents, he was encountered at Wakefield by an army of 20,000, and in this unequal contest fell, with the greater part of his followers. This battle, in its consequences, proved well-nigh fatal to the interests of the Pale. The Irish clans seized on the districts now stripped of their defenders and the colonists were forced to purchase a doubtful security by paying a heavy tribute to chieftains in their neighborhood. The rival houses of York and Lancaster were now plunged in bloody civil strife and the struggle occupied Ireland as well as England.

In Ireland York and Lancaster found keen partisans among both the settlers and the natives; the hereditary feuds between the two great Norman-Irish families disposed them to take opposite sides. The Butlers, earls of Ormond (East Munster), who swayed Tipperary and Kilkenny, adhered to the house of Lancaster, while the two great branches of the Geraldines, earls of Desmond (South Munster) and of Kildare, sided with the house of York. Many of both races fought in England during that terrible civil contest, which was carried on with almost unparalleled ferocity from 1455 till 1485, a period of thirty years, during which the nobility of England was almost destroyed.

The Earl of Ormond, whom the Lancastrians had raised to the English peerage, had been seized and beheaded by the triumphant Yorkists, but his

brothers and retainers were not daunted by his fate and resolved not to mourn but to avenge it. Being joined by some Irish clans and a great number of Lancastrian fugitives from England they formed a party too numerous for the troops of the chief governor and adherents of the house of York, who were forced to rely for success on the exertions of James FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond.

The hostility at this time between the Geraldines and the Butlers was continually manifested by predatory incursions and the eastern counties of Munster were incessantly disturbed by the war-cries of the contending houses. In the long contest that was maintained by these rivals the Geraldines were distinguished by dauntless valor and a daring heroism which bordered upon rashness.

The Butlers, less valiant in the field, were more prudent in council. Artful, steady and crafty, they frequently gained the fruits of victory after the severest defeat, and finally destroyed the gallant house of Desmond by intrigue and fraudulent policy. The O'Brians of Thomond (North Munster) sometimes joined one and sometimes the other of these rivals, but even when allies they feared to trust the Butlers. "Fair and false like those of Ormond" was a proverbial expression among them. The war maintained by Desmond against Butler was desultory and of varied fortunes, but the Lancastrian fugitives from England were found of little service to their Irish allies.

They could not bear the fatigues of marches through bogs and mountains; they eagerly desired to try their fortunes in the open field and prevailed on their leader to accept the challenge of Desmond. A pitched battle was fought in County Kilkenny and the Geraldines won a complete victory. Kilkenny and other towns belonging to the Butlers were seized and plundered; the Butlers were driven from

their hereditary possession and forced to seek safety in their mountain forts and fastnesses. As a reward for this service Thomas FitzGerald, the young Earl of Desmond, who had succeeded to the title and estates of his father, James, on the latter's death in 1463, was the same year created chief governor. In his first expedition against the Irish clans which had seized the settlements in Meath he was taken prisoner, but was soon liberated by O'Connor of Offaly (Kings County), who always had been a zealous partisan of the Geraldines. Equally unsuccessful was the termination of the war with the O'Brians of Thomond.

On the advance of this clan and some others Desmond was compelled to secure the Pale by purchasing the forbearance of the invaders by a promise of regular tribute. On the marriage of the king with Elizabeth Gray, Desmond incautiously ridiculed the humbleness of the lady's origin. His watchful enemies transmitted the news to England and the queen immediately resolved on his destruction. Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was soon sent over to Ireland as chief governor and secretly instructed to examine his predecessor's conduct with the greatest strictness and to punish him with the utmost rigor if any charge could be established.

A new parliament was summoned, which, with the usual servility of the parliaments of the Pale, was ready to sanction any measure that the rulers should propose. Several acts were passed indirectly condemning the conduct of the late governor, and, among others, one against paying tribute to the Irish, which every one of its supporters was notoriously violating at the time. The parliament was then adjourned to Drogheda, where an act was hurried through both houses charging the Earls of Kildare and Desmond with treason for alliance, fosterage, etc., with the king's Irish enemies. Kildare



was arrested, but fortunately made his escape to England.

Desmond, confiding in his innocence or his power, came boldly to the chief governor to justify his conduct. He was immediately seized, and without the formality of a trial hurried to instant execution (1467). This act of tyranny and injustice did not long remain unpunished. Kildare so effectually justified himself to King Edward that he was not only restored to his title and estates, but appointed chief governor; and Tiptoft was recalled into England, where, some years after, he suffered the same fate which he had inflicted on Desmond.

The only crime of Desmond was that he was too Irish. The laws which he had violated had become generally inoperative even in the Pale; they had long fallen into disuse in Munster, Desmond's country, and were seldom enforced in Ireland except to promote the ends of private vengeance. The administration of Thomas FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare, was distinguished by the institution of a military order for the defense of the Pale, consisting of thirteen great proprietors, one hundred and twenty mounted archers, forty knights and as many esquires. It is evident that a force consisting of thirteen officers and two hundred soldiers would have been unable to resist any general onset of the native Irish, who, however, appear to have long abandoned the idea of a national union against the enemy of their race, their strength being exhausted and their valor misapplied in constant strife and warfare among themselves, and that magnificent and fiery spirit which might have shed lustre on their country they too often wasted in ignoble feuds and family quarrels.

The depression of the house of Ormond did not long continue. John, the eldest surviving brother of the late earl, contrived to obtain the favor



of his sovereign, and even his personal friendship. The partisans of the Butlers formed plots against Kildare and forwarded complaints to England, which the heir of Ormond supported with all his influence. The Earl of Kildare was soon removed from the governorship, which was transferred to his personal enemy, the Bishop of Meath.

A parliament was assembled, which immediately repealed the acts of attainder against the Butlers and restored the heir of Ormond to his titles and estates. The Butlers and Geraldines soon renewed their former feuds. Their war-cries were raised in every quarter and there was reason to dread that the entire Pale would be involved in the quarrel of these great rivals.

King Edward sent over a commission to the Archbishop of Armagh to act as mediator between the parties, but the discord was too fierce to be easily allayed. Ormond, however, suddenly resolved to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre and quitted the country. Kildare ended his life soon after, and when the chiefs were removed their followers tacitly agreed to a truce. From 1460 to the close of the century the history of the Pale, if not of all Ireland, is mainly the history of the Geraldines. In 1478 Gerald FitzGerald, the young Earl of Kildare, was appointed chief governor. The earl strengthened himself by forming an alliance with the chief of the O'Neills, to whose son he gave his daughter in marriage, and the influence he thus obtained with the Irish of Ulster enabled him to preserve the country in peace during the remainder of King Edward's life and the short and troubled reign of Richard III.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### POYNINGS' PARLIAMENT AND BATTLE OF KNOCKDOE.

The English government in the latter half of the 15th century had reached its lowest pitch of disaster, but with the end of the civil wars and the rise of the Tudor dynasty the tide was beginning to turn.

On the accession of Henry Tudor in 1485 as King Henry VII. of England, the Pale, or colony in Ireland, was reduced to the County of Dublin and parts of Meath, Louth and Kildare. Dikes and forts were built around its borders for the protection of its inhabitants. The sea-coast towns were isolated, and the great Earls of Desmond and Ormond received license to absent themselves from the parliament at Dublin by reason of the danger and difficulty of passing through the Irish enemy's country. The Irish chieftains had recovered the greater portion of the island, demanding and receiving tribute from the few settlers who remained.

Even the walled towns, which hitherto had maintained their independence, now purchased protection by the payment of an annual tax. Henry VII. at first left the government of the Pale in the hands of Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare, notwithstanding the family of the Geraldines was such ardent Yorkists. Kildare was as much an Irish chief as a peer of the realm, but from his influence with the native clans he was too useful as well as too powerful to strike at present. Kildare's great rival, the Earl of Ormond, having been restored to his

title, resided in England and became a member of the privy council. The Earl of Desmond resided in his own principality, and if he paid any attention to the concerns of the Pale it was to aid the chief governor in extending the influence of the Geraldines. The De Burgos, or Burkes, had become virtually an Irish clan and no longer regarded the colonists as brethren.

In 1486 there appeared in Dublin an adventurer named Simnel, who claimed to be Edward Plantagenet of the house of York and rightful heir to the English crown. Kildare received the impostor as a prince of the royal blood, surrounded him with all the pomp of royalty and proclaimed him king in Dublin under the title of Edward VI. Throughout Ireland few were found to deny this title except the Butlers and the citizens of Waterford. Simnel was solemnly crowned in the cathedral of Dublin and immediately after, his writs to summon a parliament met a general obedience.

The arrival of some German auxiliaries from Belgium, commanded by Martin Swartz, an experienced leader, filled the partisans of Simnel with such confidence that they determined to invade England. Kildare's two brothers, Thomas and Maurice FitzGerald, were appointed to lead the Irish forces. They were reinforced by the Earl of Lincoln and Lord Lovel, who were zealous partisans of the house of York, and on landing in England were joined by other persons of distinction.

The invaders directed their course towards Newark, but were disappointed in their hopes of raising the country. Simnel's army and Henry's forces met at Stoke. The engagement was long doubtful, though the royal army was far superior to that of the invaders, both in numbers and discipline. The Germans displayed the usual bravery of their race; the soldiers from Ireland, being

mostly light armed, in vain made the most gallant effort to break through the iron lines of their opponents. They were driven back, charged in their turn, and thrown into irretrievable confusion. But though routed they disdained to flee; each resisted singly and at length nearly all were overwhelmed by numbers.

Four thousand of the invaders, including the principal leaders, fell in this bloody engagement. Simnel was made prisoner, but his life was spared by Henry, who made him a menial in the royal kitchen. Though Henry was inclined to punish severely the partisans of Simnel, the turbulent state of Ireland compelled him to restrain his feelings. He contented himself with rewarding his friends, deferring the punishment of his enemies to a more favorable opportunity. He sent a letter written with his own hand to the citizens of Waterford, thanking them for their fidelity, and at the same time he graciously received the deputies from Dublin and readily granted them a general pardon.

He sent Sir Richard Edgecomb to Ireland with a train of 500 men to receive anew the oaths of allegiance and take under the royal protection all who gave assurance of their loyalty. Soon afterwards Kildare and several of the Norman-Irish nobility went over to England and did homage to the king in person. They were magnificently entertained by Henry, but had the mortification to see Simnel waiting as butler at table.

Kildare on his return continued to exercise all his former authority and preserved the Pale in greater tranquillity than it had enjoyed for a long time. Sir James Butler, a natural son of the Earl of Ormond (who died while on a pilgrimage in 1478), had long been engaged in a series of intrigues to remove Kildare from the government, and finally succeeded. The Archbishop of Dublin was ap-

pointed in his place, and the office of lord-treasurer was bestowed on Sir James Butler, and every opportunity was now taken to depress the Geraldines. Alarmed at the state of Ireland, Henry resolved to confide the administration of affairs there to Sir Edward Poynings, a knight of distinguished ability, who went over in 1494 with an army of 1,000 men.

The first military enterprise of the new governor was against the O'Hanlons and MacGennises of Ulster, whose incursions had been very frequent and injurious. The difficulties of the country rendered the superior forces of the governor useless and Poynings would have been forced to retire in disgrace had not the Geraldines furnished him a pretext for withdrawing.

The brother of the Earl of Kildare seized the castle of Carlow, garrisoned it with his own retainers, and raised the Yorkist flag. Kildare was immediately arrested on suspicion and the chief governor, advancing to Carlow, forced the castle to surrender after a siege of ten days. Poynings now summoned a parliament at Drogheda, at which was passed the famous measure known as Poynings' act, which at once deprived the Pale of all claim to independent government.

The last act of this parliament was to declare the Earl of Kildare guilty of high treason on the ground of his intimacy with the "Irish enemy" and for aid supposed to have been given Warbeck, a Yorkist pretender, who had come over to Ireland. Kildare was taken in custody to London, but his fearless bearing disarmed Henry's suspicions, and in August, 1496, the earl was liberated and sent back to Ireland as chief governor. Kildare repaid the confidence of the king by the zeal, energy and fidelity which he displayed in his administration.



The boundaries of the Pale, which had been gradually narrowing during the preceding century, were now enlarged, and several clans whose forbearance had been purchased by tribute were forced into submission. The great Geraldine's energy and influence over the native Irish maintained the power of the crown in Ireland as it had not been for generations. He rebuilt the ruined towns of Leinster and erected castles on the borders of the Pale; he made raids into Munster and forced garrisons upon the cities of Cork and Kinsale, which had shown a disposition to support Warbeck.

He penetrated into Connaught to check the turbulent power of the Burkes, and into Ulster to support his nephew, Turlough O'Neill, in a quarrel with another of the O'Neill family, capturing many castles in that province and handing them over to his Irish allies. For some time a bitter struggle had been carried on in the West between Ulick MacWilliam Burke, Lord of Clanricard, in South Connaught, and Malachy O'Kelly, chief of Hy-Many, a territory in the southeastern part of the same province, during which the latter sustained a severe defeat.

In 1504 Burke took and destroyed three of O'Kelly's castles. O'Kelly, unable any longer to resist with success his enemy, hurried to Dublin to seek the assistance of the Earl of Kildare. The latter, wishing to curb the aggressions of Burke, with whom he had a personal feud, warmly espoused the cause of O'Kelly. Burke of Clanricard, nothing daunted by the power of his enemies, boldly prepared for resistance, and obtained the assistance of O'Brian, Prince of Thomond, or North Munster, and the latter now marched to the aid of Burke with all his forces, accompanied by the MacNamaras, the O'Carrolls in great force, and other Southern clans. The O'Conors of Connaught also ranged themselves

under the standard of Clanricard, and altogether the army now raised to resist the forces of Kildare was looked upon as the largest body of Irish that had ever been brought into the field since the days of Edward Bruce.

Under the banner of the Earl of Kildare were ranged, side by side with the army of the Pale, the forces of most of the clans of Ulster, such as the O'Donnells, the O'Neills, the MacGennises, the MacMahons, the O'Hanlons, the O'Reillys and the O'Farrells, with the O'Conors of Leinster, the O'Kellys of Connaught, and even the Burkes of Mayo.

The whole island looked on in anxious expectation of the result of this deadly contest, for from the composition of the two armies it seemed as though the ancient rivalry of the North and the South was again brought into the field. The combined army under Kildare crossed the Shannon and marched direct towards Galway till it arrived within about eight miles northeast of that city, when it came in sight of the enemy, which had collected its force along the hill of Knockdoe, from which it stretched into the neighboring plain.

The battle which ensued was one of the most bloody and decisive that had taken place in Ireland for centuries. The engagement began on the 19th of August, 1504, and continued for hours with great fury. The attack was made by the army of Burke, which rushed furiously upon the ranks of Kildare. But it appears that the trained archers of the Pale used the bow with such terrible effect upon their assailants that the latter at length fell back in confusion. The whole army of the North then rushed upon them and drove them from the field with immense slaughter.

O'Brian, Prince of Thomond, was among those who fell in the battle. The two sons of Ulick

MacWilliam Burke were made prisoners, but Burke himself escaped by flight. From a comparison of the different accounts of this engagement it appears that Burke lost about 4,000 troops on the field and in the pursuit, and 2,000 of Kildare's fell, making in all about 6,000 men slain in this decisive conflict. On the following day Kildare proceeded to Galway and took possession of the town without opposition.

There the victors remained some time, feasting and rejoicing, after which they marched to Athenry, which also surrendered to the Earl of Kildare without resistance. After the capture of Athenry Kildare's allies marched to their homes and the earl himself, with the army of the Pale, returned to Dublin.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE REVOLT OF SILKEN THOMAS (FITZGERALD).

In 1509 Henry Tudor, known as Henry VIII., ascended the English throne. Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare, was continued as chief governor in Ireland and daily extended the influence of the crown.

So great was the confidence reposed in this gallant chief that on his death in 1513 the army suddenly dispersed and there was reason to dread a new series of tumults. This was, however, prevented by the council, which unanimously elected Gerald, the young Earl of Kildare, chief governor until the royal pleasure could be known, and this election was confirmed in England. Gerald inherited the valor of his illustrious family and also a more than ordinary share of their characteristic pride and imprudence. He soon proved his military skill by suppressing a formidable rising of the neighboring clans and by a successful incursion into the North. But though Kildare was able to subdue his enemies in the field he could not contend with his secret foes in the intrigues of the cabinet.

One of the first cares of Henry and his minister, Wolsey, was to unfold a characteristic Tudor policy for Ireland. The time had come for the struggle to begin between the crown and the great Norman-Irish lords. Henry's minister, Cardinal Wolsey, hated the Geraldines, who by means of their powerful Irish connection, having intermarried with the families of half the native princes, were

setting the government at defiance. Through their power to raise or quell at pleasure the turbulence of the Irish clans they had forced themselves upon the government as the only persons able to carry on affairs in Ireland.

King Henry also looked upon the Geraldines' power with peculiar jealousy. The control of the island was practically in the hands of the earls of Kildare and their followers and was drifting day by day further from the supremacy of England. What use were the Kilkenny statutes and Poynings' acts if the country was under the command of a Norman-Irish house which defied the authority of England? His jealousy of the Geraldines was fostered by Wolsey, who was considerably under the influence of the house of Ormond (or Butlers), the bitter enemies of the Geraldines.

The Butlers always had been firmly attached to the house of Lancaster and the Tudor cause and were traditional rivals of the Geraldines. The chiefs of the Butlers, earls of Ormond, never had fallen away from foreign habits and assimilated with the Celtic natives to the same extent as the chiefs of the great house of FitzGerald, the earls of Kildare, or the still more Irish FitzGeralds, earls of Desmond. The story of the house of Geraldine, or FitzGerald, is one of the most romantic in all Irish history. The Geraldines were descended from Maurice and Raymond FitzGerald, who came to Ireland with the first Norman invaders in the 12th century.

Through varying fortunes (at one time the Desmond or South Munster Geraldines were nearly exterminated by the MacCarthys) they had risen to a proud position of rule in Ireland. They were lords over the broad lands in Kildare, Waterford, Cork, Kerry and Limerick; their followers swarmed in Leinster and Munster, bearing a "G" on their breasts in token that they owed their hearts to the



Geraldines. Too proud or noble to court the favor of Wolsey by meanness and subserviency, Kildare incurred the displeasure of that haughty prelate, while his rival, Pierce Butler, Earl of Ormond, submitted to every degrading requirement in order to conciliate the powerful cardinal. In consequence of these artifices and the crafty policy of the government, Kildare was removed from office and the Earl of Surrey, connected by marriage with the house of Ormond, was appointed in his stead (A. D. 1520).

Kildare was summoned to England to answer the charge of allying himself with the "Irish enemy." Soon after his arrival he obtained the daughter of the Marquis of Dorset in marriage, and by the aid of this influential nobleman was enabled to baffle the malice of his enemies. He attended Henry to Calais at the time of his celebrated interview with Francis, King of France, and contributed largely to the splendor of the "Field of the Cloth of Gold" by the brilliancy of his suite and equipage. In the meantime Surrey, who had brought over an army of 1,000 men, displayed unusual vigor and ability in Ireland. He crushed the revolt of several clans and received the submission of some powerful chieftains, but being a stranger in the country was led into many errors by the interested deception of his advisers.

Surrey was succeeded as chief governor in 1561 by the Earl of Ormond, whose administration was chiefly directed to extending the power and influence of the Butlers, and he was not very scrupulous in the use of any means by which this object might be effected. FitzPatrick, an Irish chief in Leinster, having been plundered by Ormond, sent an ambassador to lay his complaints before the king, to which the latter, it appears, paid no attention, and Ormond was allowed to continue his excesses with impunity.

The return of Kildare after a three years' sojourn at the English court proved a formidable event to the governor.

The Kildares renewed their struggle with the Butlers and the contest soon became so important that commissioners were sent from England to investigate the wrongs of which both complained. After a brief inquiry they decided in favor of Kildare, and the Earl of Ormond was immediately removed from his office and Kildare appointed chief governor.

James FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond, the chief of the Southern Geraldines, had long acted as an independent prince. He claimed the privilege of absenting himself from parliament and of never being obliged to come within the walls of a fortified town. Francis, King of France, finding King Henry of England had joined his enemies, determined to raise some commotion in Ireland, and for this purpose sent an embassy to Desmond, who readily entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French king, but before the treaty could produce any effect Francis was made prisoner and Desmond left exposed to the vengeance of an enraged and vindictive sovereign.

Orders were sent to Kildare commanding him in the strongest terms to punish his kinsman, but the governor ventured to evade their enforcement and marched into Ulster on the pretense of some disorders in that province, but really to support his brother-in-law, O'Neill. The enemies of Kildare represented this conduct at court and the governor was ordered to appear before the king and answer to these charges. On his arrival in London he was thrown into the Tower, but after a short time, during which Ireland remained in a state of distraction, the earl, through the influence of his high connections, recovered the confidence of the jealous

king and once more returned to Ireland as chief governor.

Henry, however, already had determined on the ruin of the great house of Kildare, and in 1534 for a third time charges of treason were preferred against him, with a peremptory command to come at once to London. Kildare reluctantly passed over to England, intrusting the government to his son, Lord Thomas FitzGerald, a youth scarce twenty-one years old.

Kildare on his arrival was a second time sent to the Tower of London, but this blow was not aimed at the earl alone. Letters were written and conveyed to Dublin stating that Kildare had been executed. Already the faction of Butlers had reported that he had been sentenced to death and pretended to have read an account of his execution. Lord Thomas, "Silken Thomas," as he was popularly called on account of the richness of his dress, lent a credulous ear to these inventions of his enemies.

Determined on revenge, he consulted his Irish adherents, and having received promises of support proceeded to raise the standard of revolt. Attended by a body of 140 armed followers he entered Dublin and immediately started for St. Mary's Abbey, where the council was assembled in deliberation. The sudden entrance of armed men filled all with alarm, but their fears were calmed by Lord Thomas, who, repressing the violence of his attendants, declared that he came to resign the sword of state, to renounce his allegiance to King Henry, and to proclaim himself the foe of the English government and its adherents.

While the other lords remained astonished and silent, Cromer, who was both chancellor and primate, arose, and taking the young lord by the hand gently remonstrated with him on the rashness of his









undertaking, to which FitzGerald made no reply, but threw down the sword of state and rushed out of the house. The Pale was soon overrun with retainers of the house of Kildare. Without sufficient troops Lord Thomas laid siege to Dublin and wasted his time and forces in assaults on the castle, into which his enemies had withdrawn.

Ormond hurried from the South; reinforcements soon arrived from England, and though one division was almost annihilated, two others, commanded by Sir William Brereton and Sir William Skeffington, made their entrance into the city and forced Lord Thomas to raise the siege. Throwing a strong garrison into his castle of Maynooth, Lord Thomas retired into the country of the native clans to stir up the O'Moores and the O'Conors of Leinster to his assistance and to send agents to solicit aid from Spain and Rome.

"And now there came into play a circumstance which marks the change from the old to the new order of things. Skeffington had brought with him a train of artillery, with which he laid siege to the castle of Maynooth. This fortress was believed to be impregnable, and no doubt, if sufficiently provisioned, under the old system of warfare it was so. Skeffington's guns breached the walls in twelve days, an assault was made, and the castle taken. Hitherto the English and the Irish had been pretty evenly matched in point of fighting power. The better disciplined troops of the former perhaps had the best of it in the field, but the tactics of the Irish, mounted on their fleeter and more wiry horses, were to retire into the more difficult country and to close up in the rear of the enemy and harass them with intermittent attacks. When there was fighting it was hand to hand.

"The sword and the spear were the ordinary weapons on both sides. The skill in archery which

had made the English infantry so formidable had been to a great extent lost even in the Pale, notwithstanding repeated laws which enjoined the constant use of the bow. The great lords, secure in their stone castles, could defy both the Irish enemy and the royal troops and laugh at a besieging force till it was compelled, for want of supplies, to raise the siege and give up the raid.

“The invention of gunpowder put an end to the old fashion of warfare and changed the relative positions of the parties. The siege train of the chief governor battered down the Norman castles about the ears of their owners. The introduction of hand guns and field cannon gave a small force of the king’s troops a tremendous advantage over the half-naked and ill-armed kerns and galloglasses. These terrible engines of destruction were necessarily a monopoly in the hands of the English government, the Irish having no such thing as an arsenal or factory for arms or ammunition.”

The greater part of the irregular army assembled by the Geraldine dispersed when the capture of Maynooth became known and Lord Thomas was driven to maintain a desultory warfare in the woods and mountains. Even thus he made such a formidable resistance that he obtained from the English general, Lord Leonard Gray, the most solemn assurances of safety and protection on condition of dismissing his troops.

Skeffington died in 1535, about the time the war was concluded, and was succeeded by Lord Gray. The first act of the new governor was one of characteristic perfidy. In spite of his former promise he sent the unfortunate Lord Thomas a prisoner to London, where he had the mortification to find that his father had not fallen by the hand of the executioner, but had died of a broken heart when he heard of his son’s revolt. The five uncles

of Lord Thomas, three of whom had strongly opposed the revolt, were invited to a banquet by Lord Gray, where they were treacherously seized, hurried on shipboard, and sent to England as victims of the indiscriminate vengeance of Henry. They were lodged in the same prison-house as their unfortunate nephew, and after lingering there a year they and Silken Thomas, notwithstanding the terms of the latter's surrender, were executed at Tyburn. Even these were not enough to glut the royal appetite for blood.

The heir to the house of Kildare, a boy of twelve, and son of the late earl by his second wife, was sought for so eagerly that it was necessary to send him to the continent for safety. Even there he was followed by the enmity of the tyrant. Henry had the characteristic meanness to demand him from the King of France as a rebellious subject, but the French monarch connived at his escape to Belgium.

From Belgium he finally reached Italy in safety to find refuge with his kinsman, Cardinal Pole, at the Roman court and to found again the fortunes of his house.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### THE ACT OF SUPREMACY.

King Henry broke with Rome in 1534 and now was compelling, with a high hand, a change in the English Church. His quarrel with the Pope arose from the latter's refusal to grant him a divorce from Catharine of Arragon, his beautiful and virtuous queen, with whom he had lived happily for twenty years.

Wolsey had fallen from his high position and Thomas Cromwell was now guiding the royal counsels. At Cromwell's suggestion Henry had declared himself "the only supreme lord and head of the church and clergy in England." The king, having abolished the religious houses in England and appropriated their lands and revenues, determined to do the same in Ireland. In the prevailing condition of turbulence and poverty under which society in Ireland then groaned it has been well said "that the religious houses were as lamps in the darkness and as rivers in a thirsty land."

Though frequently plundered by all contending parties, they held together the fragments of learning and enlightenment which otherwise would have died out. They occupied the position of universities and schools, being the only places where any education could be obtained. They served as public houses, where any who traveled from place to place could obtain accommodations, and frequently provided the chief governor himself with food, forage and lodging; they dispensed charity to the poor.

Disregarding such considerations, King Henry proceeded to abolish throughout the Pale, and beyond to the extent of his power, the abbeyes, priories, monasteries and nunneries in Ireland, and with such success that before his death in 1547, four hundred of these religious houses were suppressed and their property appropriated to the crown. In 1537 Lord Leonard Gray summoned a parliament at Dublin, at which the authority of the Pope was renounced and the supremacy of Henry VIII., in spiritual as well as temporal affairs, formally established, his marriage with Catharine declared null and void, and the succession of the crown pronounced to be in the heirs of the king and the new queen, Anne Boleyn.

The last act scarcely had been passed when the news of Anne's disgrace reached the assembly. With equal readiness they changed the inheritance to the descendants of Jane Seymour, whom Henry had married on the day following Queen Anne's execution, and, in the failure of such heirs, acknowledged the king's right to dispose of the kingdom of England and the lordship of Ireland by letters patent or by will.

Several acts of a similar tendency were passed with little opposition except from the clergy, but Lord Gray did not rely on statutes alone. He collected a numerous army, and marching through Munster received not only the submission of the clans, but hostages for the fidelity of the chieftains. From 1535 to 1540, during which Lord Gray continued in office as chief governor, he was almost constantly engaged in warfare with the Celtic chieftains and the Norman-Irish lords.

The Butlers, triumphant over the Geraldines of Kildare, were openly or in secret jealous antagonists of the governor. They were, however, too politic to undertake open rebellion, and while engaged



in resisting the local government, sent over the most fulsome professions of allegiance to the court of England.

Gray reduced O'Connor of Leinster and burned his stronghold; he destroyed O'Brian's bridge across the Shannon, which was protected at each end by a tower of solid marble, and had laid the Pale at the mercy of every incursion from Clare. He assisted one O'Brian against another O'Brian, one FitzGerald of Desmond against another, and one O'Connor against another chieftain of the same name; he dashed into South Munster and reduced the hostile Barrys and received homage from many of the lesser lords; he captured the strong castle of Athlone, the key of the West, and overawed the Burkes. He destroyed several castles in Ulster and broke the power of O'Neill and O'Donnell by giving those chieftains a signal defeat at Balahoe, in Monaghan. Soon after this victory Lord Gray was recalled to England, and on charges made by the Butlers sent to the Tower for high treason.

In 1541 he was ordered to execution and perished on Tower Hill, suffering the same fate that he had treacherously prepared for the Geraldines of Kildare. Henry's plan, coercion and conciliation, was not new in Ireland. The power of the crown was to be exerted and order maintained. Overtures were then to be made to the Celtic chiefs to induce them to give allegiance to the king, and the prospect of royal favors was to be held out to them. "Sober ways, politic drifts and amiable persuasions" were to be used to draw them gradually into the appreciation of English laws, manners and habits and to convince them of the material benefits they would derive from holding their land from the crown instead of by the elective life tenure which was given them by their own laws.

Some risings after the departure of Lord Gray

were quelled by Brereton, and the new chief governor, Sir Anthony St. Leger, on his arrival found all parties prepared to submit to the new policy of conciliation. Overtures were now made to the Celtic chiefs, to the Earl of Desmond, who had been in open revolt, and to other hostile nobles of Munster. Both Milesians and Normans were half ruined by their perpetual petty warfare.

They had learned to dread the power of the king, and they had before their eyes the example of the Earl of Ormond, who had been promised and had obtained a portion of the confiscated church land on his engaging to uphold the king's spiritual and temporal supremacy. MacMurrough of Carlow sent in his submission; the O'Dempsys, the O'Dunns, the O'Moores and the O'Conors of Leinster followed, as did the O'Malloys, the O'Malachys and the MacGeoghegans of Meath. Then came the O'Carrolls of Tipperary, the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, the Earl of Desmond, MacYorris of Athenry and Burke of Clanricard. O'Brian, Prince of Thomond, at first held aloof, and so did O'Neill and O'Donnell, but subsequently these chiefs agreed to submit and promised allegiance to Henry.

In June, 1541, St. Leger summoned a parliament at Dublin, at which the most formidable enemies of the English power were invited to attend as peers. Then for the first time were to be seen Celtic chieftains, Norman-Irish lords and English peers sitting side by side in the parliament of the Pale. The English monarchs hitherto had borne only the title of lords of Ireland, but now the style and title of King of Ireland was conferred on Henry and his heirs and the Act of Supremacy was accepted and confirmed.

The royal favors were then distributed. Peerages and promotions were liberally bestowed on the

most powerful descendants of the first settlers and the Celtic chieftains and further honors were promised to those who showed zeal in the king's service. Burke was created Earl of Clanricard, O'Brian became Earl of Thomond, O'Donnell was promised the earldom of Tirconnell, O'Neill resigned the title of his clan for that of Earl of Tyrone, and the inheritance to his title and estates was conferred on his natural son, Matthew O'Neill, who was created Baron of Dungannon.

Other leading chieftains were conciliated by the politic Henry with titles and rewards, and many of them persuaded to visit the English court that they might be impressed with the king's power and the great resources of England. Beyond the Pale the church lands which had not yet fallen within Henry's grasp were, on the submission of the native chieftains and the great lords, handed over to them as a reward for their submission and allegiance. Large sums of money were also distributed among the Irish chiefs, and to each was assigned a house in Dublin for his occupation during the sitting of parliament.

The chiefs agreed to hold their lands of the king by English law and to conform to English habits; to come to the king's courts for justice; to attend parliament; to send their sons to be educated at the English court; to assist the chief governor in his wars, and to renounce the authority of Rome. The submission of their lords was very unpopular among the free clansmen, and in many cases the newly created peers found the dissatisfaction forcibly brought home to them. The new Earls of Thomond and Clanricard on their return from the ceremony of inauguration found portions of their countries in revolt.

The sons of O'Neill and O'Donnell headed the clansmen in a refusal to accept the new order of

things. Fighting followed and peace was only restored in Thomond and Galway by the intervention of the chief governor, who led his troops to support the new nobility. In the North young O'Donnell was finally overthrown by his father, while the struggle in the O'Neill family was fought out between Matthew O'Neill, the new Baron of Dungannon, and Shane O'Neill, the legitimate son, who was clear-sighted enough to contend that by the Irish law of tanistry his father had nothing but a life interest in the chieftaincy, and that King Henry had no power to settle the inheritance by the feudal laws.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### THE REFORMATION AND FIRST PLANTATION.

In 1547 Edward, son of Henry VIII., and Jane Seymour became King of England with the title of Edward VI. During this reign the reformation introduced by Henry was pushed with renewed vigor. How this was done in Ireland may be learned from the Four Masters:

“They broke down the monasteries and sold their roofs and bells. . . . They burned the images, shrines and relics; . . . the staff of Jesus, which had been in the hands of St. Patrick.” As a result of this kind of persuasion the whole population of Ireland became united in one common bond and one common cause to resist an innovation which they looked upon as at once blasphemous and tyrannical, and stamped with the detestable policy of Anglicizing the Irish nation. A common platform had been found on which the people of all races could unite.

They could sink their mutual jealousies in the enthusiasm for their common faith. Henceforth the Norman-Irish and Celts were to be as one nation. The war of races had ceased, the war of religion was at hand. In 1551 St. Leger, the chief governor, received commands from England to cause the Bible, the liturgy and prayers of the Reformed religion to be read in all the churches of Ireland. Accordingly St. Leger summoned the archbishops, bishops and clergy to meet in Dublin to carry out these instructions, but in this meeting Archbishop



Dowdal of Armagh scornfully refused to receive the new liturgy and arose, with the main body of the clergy, and retired from the conference. One archbishop and four bishops remained—Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, with Staple, Quin, Lancaster and Travers, the bishops respectively of Meath, Limerick, Kildare and Leighlin.

These five, all of whom, except Quin, were Englishmen, readily accepted the king's orders. The primacy of all Ireland was next transferred to Dublin from Armagh, which, being situated in O'Neill's country, was beyond the control of the crown, and Archbishop Dowdal retired to the continent. Goodacre, an Englishman, was elevated to the vacant See of Armagh, which he filled, at least in name, and at the same time John Bale, a fiery and bigoted Reformer, was advanced to the See of Ossory.

Some conception of the projects of the Reformers was now beginning to dawn upon the people. They saw the advocates of the new religion place their reliance on arbitrary acts of parliament and bands of soldiers, substituting the law and the sword for the gospel and the cross. Their attention had been aroused by the plunder of the church lands and the casting forth of the monks, nuns and friars from their possessions and homes. Their wonder and indignation had been excited by the destruction of the images, shrines and relics of their venerated saints; by the burning of the sacred staff of Jesus, which was believed to have been used by Christ himself and to have been converted into a crozier by St. Patrick.

They were struck with horror at the sacrilegious pillage of the tomb of St. Patrick, St. Brigid and St. Columba and the atrocious act of vandalism in sacking the ancient and magnificent abbey of Clonmacnois, destroying its ornaments and defiling

its altars—the renowned sanctuary which had withstood civil storm, Danish rage and Norman fury for a thousand years, to receive from the Reformers' hands the last, fatal blow.

The enraged people had turned on Bishop Bale and stoned his servants and besieged him in his palace on his attempting to overturn the market cross at Kilkenny. Similar heinous acts were committed by the enemies of the ancient faith in other parts of the country, and the first impression produced by the advocates of the new creed was that the Reformed religion sanctioned sacrilege and robbery. Little wonder if, in time, the Reformation became identified, in the eyes of the Irish people, with Anglicizing oppression and Protestantism, with a war to the knife.

By degrees also a parallel course of extermination and plantation was now entered upon which, with some interruptions, was vigorously pursued for nearly two centuries; and this, combined with the policy of forcing a new religion upon a reluctant people, imbued the Irish nation with a hatred of the English government which bade fair to be ineffaceable for generations.

The ancient territories of Leix, Offaly, Fercal and Ely lay in the center of Ireland. They consisted chiefly of trackless forest and impenetrable morass, interspersed with tracts of profitable land, and were occupied by many warlike clans, of which the O'Moores and the O'Conors were chief. Soon after the death of King Henry the O'Moores and the O'Conors incited some disturbances in Leinster, and a large, well-appointed army under Sir Edward Bellingham was sent into that territory and soon drove them to seek refuge in their fastnesses.

Such representations were now made to O'Moore and O'Conor as induced these chieftains to submit and undertake a journey to England. Scarcely,

however, had they arrived at London when they were treacherously seized and thrown into prison, while their lands were taken by the rapacious adventurers who had advised this base act of perfidy. The proud spirit of O'Moore sank under the indignity of confinement; he died, leaving to his family the memory of his wrongs and a heavy debt of vengeance, which they in after time failed not to exact.

O'Connor long lingered in hopeless captivity and exile. Con O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, proved himself formidable after the accession of Edward VI. The fate of O'Moore and O'Connor awakened his vigilance. The plundering spirit of the English excited his hatred, and the eldest of his legitimate sons, Shane O'Neill, successfully labored to prejudice him against Matthew O'Neill, on whom King Henry had settled the inheritance. While Tyrone yet wavered, Matthew, seeing the danger with which he was threatened, made the most alarming representations to the chief governor, who contrived to secure the person of Tyrone and his wife, whom he instantly placed in close confinement.

The consequence was to place the Clan O'Neill entirely at the disposal of the warlike Shane, who, assisted by a body of Scots, committed great depredations and plunged Ulster once more in war. On the accession of the Catholic queen, Mary, in 1553, the old order of things was re-established for a brief season. Armagh was restored to its former privileges and Archbishop Dowdal recalled from banishment. The officers of state changed their creed with the same facility they had displayed on former occasions. They had easy consciences and took their religion from the crown.

Browne and his conforming bishops, with all the clergy who had married, were formally deposed and their children declared illegitimate, while Bale

and the Bishop of Limerick fled beyond the seas to Geneva.

The new queen commenced her reign by several acts equally just, humane and politic. She restored to his title and estates Gerald FitzGerald, heir to the house of Kildare, who had been brought up at the Roman court by Cardinal Pole, and she liberated O'Connor of Leinster, who had been so long a prisoner. The church lands which had been granted to the laity were not, however, relinquished; their new possessors, though they might be indifferent to their faith, were tenacious of their acquisitions, and so far from restoring those that were still vested in the crown, the queen continued to make fresh grants to whom she pleased, "with their appurtenances, both spiritual and temporal." The restoration of the ancient faith was effected without violence; no persecution for conscience sake was attempted, and many English families who had fled from the furious zeal of Mary's inquisitors found a safe retreat among the Catholics of Ireland.

"It is," says W. C. Taylor in his History of Ireland, "but justice to this maligned body to add that on the three occasions of their obtaining the upper hand, they never injured a single person in life or limb for professing a religion different from their own, as they showed in the reign of Mary, in the wars from 1641 to 1648, and during the brief triumph of James II."

When O'Moore and O'Connor were seized and imprisoned the clans argued with great justice that they had no right to lose their lands for the real or supposed errors of their chiefs. The ground was the property of the clans, and the guilt of the leaders, though ever so clearly proved, could by no means involve the subordinate chiefs, against whom not a shadow of a charge could be brought. The government had answered by an argument suffi-



ciently characteristic: it deigned no reply, verbal or written, but sent an army to drive the people from their possessions and to punish by martial law all who dared to make any resistance.

The strongholds of Dangan and Campa were taken, the clans forced from their homes and dispersed, their cattle driven off and their land laid waste by fire and sword. The rightful owners of the soil having been ejected, the next step was to re-people it with English colonists, from whom a revenue of £500 per annum was secured to the crown by granting of leases for twenty-one years to the new settlers on the confiscated lands. For nine years a guerrilla warfare of the most fierce and bloody character was kept up between the dispossessed clansmen and the settlers, which ended in the almost total expulsion of the latter.

Again the government put forth its strength and this time proceeded to do its work thoroughly. The obnoxious natives were either shot down in the field or executed by martial law and the remnant driven into the neighboring bogs and mountains, where for a few years longer they preyed upon and despoiled the settlers, and were in turn hunted as brigands and put to death. The confiscated territories were then converted into Kings County and Queens County and the ancient strongholds, Campa and Dangan, changed to forts and made into market towns, and named Maryborough and Philipstown in honor of Queen Mary and her husband, Philip of Spain.

The reinstated settlers were called upon to adhere to the English language, habits and laws; to renounce Irish marriages and fosterage; to clear the country and maintain the fords and highways, and to build a church in every town within three years. In the settlement of these two counties may be seen the beginning of those modern plantation schemes



which were to be carried out on so large a scale by the succeeding English rulers, whether Tudor, Stuart or Puritan. The indomitable Shane O'Neill was as little inclined to submit to Mary as he had been to Edward.

In contempt of the governor's remonstrance he renewed the war against his half-brother, Matthew O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, who in the course of the struggle fell by the hands of Shane's men. In 1557 O'Neill joined Hugh O'Donnell in an attempt to subdue his brother, Calvagh O'Donnell, who had deprived the chieftain of Tirconnell, or Donegal, their father, of power and detained him in prison. This expedition into Donegal nearly proved fatal to the adventurous O'Neill.

His camp was surprised by night, his followers routed, and he himself with difficulty escaped by a rapid flight. Shane, though thus defeated, lost neither his spirit nor his popularity. On the death of his father, Con O'Neill, who died in captivity in Dublin, Shane took upon himself the chieftaincy of the clan without opposition, thus openly setting the government at defiance.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### SHANE O'NEILL, KING OF ULSTER.

The Reformation begun under Henry VIII. had been carried out with pitiless vigor under Edward VI. and was met by the Catholics of Ireland with determined opposition. Under Mary there was a period of respite, but the strife was renewed with greater fierceness under Queen Elizabeth.

In 1558 Mary died and her half-sister, Elizabeth Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, became queen of England. Elizabeth's first act in Ireland was to reverse all that Mary had done in church matters. In January, 1560, she directed a parliament to be held at Dublin, taking great care that its composition should be of a satisfactory character. Representatives were summoned from only ten counties, and these were carefully selected from those towns and districts where the royal influence was paramount, while none of the newly created peers was invited to attend.

This carefully chosen and obedient parliament—a deliberately packed body—repealed the Catholic acts of Mary and passed the Act of Uniformity, which made the new liturgy compulsory and required all persons, on pain of fine and imprisonment, to attend the Reformed Church. A new oath of supremacy was also imposed, to be taken by all persons, on pain of forfeiture of office and promotion for life, and the gift of first fruits from the clergy was restored to the crown.

“Many of the bishops accepted the situation.

Those who refused and who were in Elizabeth's power were deprived; those outside the Pale and its power trusted in their isolation and defied the new measures. The seizures by Henry and Edward had impoverished the Irish church, but the spirit of the church was unbroken. On hillsides and by hedges the mendicant friars still preached the faith of their fathers in their fathers' native tongue, and wherever they went they found a people eager to hear and to honor them, resolute to oppose the changes that came in the name of Henry, of Edward and of Elizabeth from across the sea."

Elizabeth's troubles in Ireland soon began. They arose out of her father's endeavor to substitute the feudal laws of inheritance for the time-honored laws of tanistry in his grants of peerages to the native chiefs. From this source quarrels already had arisen in many parts of Ireland. Con O'Neill, the new Earl of Tyrone, had taken his title from Henry VIII. subject to the English law of hereditary succession, but on the death of Con in 1559 the Clan O'Neill, disregarding the English law of succession, chose Shane O'Neill, a young son of Con and the hero of his clan, to be its chieftain.

Shane was an able man, of strong will and fierce passions, and fully capable of meeting the crooked ways of Queen Elizabeth with corresponding cunning. He aimed to gather to himself the whole power of the North and thus become independent of the English government. He put himself forward as the champion of the ancient order of things; as the despiser of the new titles and decorations which had been so eagerly sought by many of his fellow-chieftains, and he boldly stood forth as sovereign of Ulster by the Irish law of tanistry. The time seemed favorable for the struggle for Irish independence.

Under the pretense of governing the country, Elizabeth overran it with a soldiery which lived almost entirely on plunder and were little better than bandits. Shane was considered too dangerous a person to be left in full control of Ulster, and Elizabeth determined to get rid of him by fair means or foul. The Earl of Sussex, who was then chief governor in Ireland, accordingly made an attempt to detach O'Reilly of Brefny from his allegiance to Shane by creating him Baron of Cavan, and to enlist Calvagh O'Donnell by promising him the earldom of Tirconnell.

For some years the Scots of Argyle had been migrating to the coast of Antrim and had greatly strengthened Shane's power by entering his service as mercenaries. It was determined to approach McDonnell, the chief of this colony, and so complete the combination against O'Neill. Shane, however, was too quick for Sussex. He burst into Brefny and compelled O'Reilly to give him hostages for his good behavior; he dashed into Tirconnell, or Donegal, and seized Calvagh O'Donnell and his wife, and turning on Sussex, who had captured and fortified Armagh, drove him and his shattered army headlong before him almost to the walls of Dublin. So great was the terror inspired by Shane's name after this victory that Sussex was unable to bring his beaten army to face O'Neill in the field.

Sussex accordingly, with the cordial approval of the queen, had the baseness to endeavor to remove Shane by assassination, and "suborned one Nele Gray with a promise of a grant of land of the value of a hundred marks to murder him. But the plot failed and Nele Gray lost his reward." Shane now retreated before Sussex's reinforcements and consented to treat with his cousin, Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare. The result of the negotiation was that Shane agreed to present himself in

person to the queen and state his case to her. O'Neill passed over to London, where he and his bodyguard of gallowglasses created a sensation.

"The courtly gentlemen who hovered about Elizabeth stared over their spreading ruffs in wonder at Shane the Proud and his wild followers in their saffron-stained shirts and rough cloaks, with great battle-axes in their hands. They sharpened their wits upon his haughty bearing, his scornful speech and his strange garb. But his size and strength made a great impression on the susceptible queen and for the moment an amicable arrangement seemed to be arrived at."

After a sojourn of three months at the English court Shane was permitted to return to Ireland. The queen allowed him to continue "Captain of Tyrone" and promised to withdraw her troops from Armagh. Shane, on his part, agreed to reduce the Scottish settlers of Antrim and to set O'Donnell at liberty, both of which he promptly did. During the next two years Shane and the English did not interfere with each other further than another attempt on his life by Sussex, who this time sent him a present of poisoned wine, which nearly caused his death.

At last Elizabeth, glad to come to a settlement with O'Neill at almost any price, in September, 1563, entered into a formal treaty of peace with him, in which Shane was granted all the rights and privileges that his father, Con O'Neill, had enjoyed, and was practically left the supreme ruler of Ulster. Shane well knew the treachery of Queen Elizabeth, but appears fairly to have kept his part of the bargain. He kept within his own borders and governed Ulster according to the ancient usage. But the fierce King of Ulster was far too powerful to please Elizabeth long.

Shane did not attempt to disguise his feelings



of hostility towards the English, and the latter only waited for a favorable opportunity to crush the Irish chief. There was a kind of armed neutrality between them.

"They would have taken every opportunity to ruin him, and he would have joined any league either in or out of Ireland to drive them out of the country. His position was that of an independent prince. His case was 'that his ancestors were kings of Ulster, and Ulster was his; with the sword he had won it, and with the sword he would keep it.' He and the English government had gauged each other's capacity for mischief and were content to watch each other for the present."

In 1566 Sir Henry Sidney returned to Ireland as chief governor, with instructions to crush the Irish chief. Sidney immediately set himself to work at the old game of gradually detaching Shane's allies and succeeded in inducing Hugh O'Donnell, the brother of Calvagh, to fall in with his plans. He sent around by sea some men to land at Derry and then attack Shane from the north, while he took the field in person and marched across the border.

Shane, who had been harassing the English Pale but had been checked by the garrison at Dundalk and had made an unsuccessful attack on Derry, finding his flank threatened by O'Donnell, turned upon him with his main force, and crossing the River Swilly, near Letterkenny, at low water, endeavored to carry by storm O'Donnell's intrenched position; but O'Donnell made a stout resistance and the attack failed. Shane's troops were driven back upon the river, where nearly three thousand of them were either cut to pieces by the men of Donegal or drowned in the river.

Shane himself barely escaped into Tyrone with a handful of his followers. He was now desperate.

His army was gone, his chiefs were revolting, his hope of foreign aid had come to naught, and, in despair, the Irish chief sought refuge among the Scots of Antrim, who were burning with revenge for his recent slaughter of their people. This step was fatal to O'Neill: the Scots hewed him in pieces, and, having struck off his head, dispatched it to Sidney, who sent it, on a spearhead, to be fixed on the tower of Dublin Castle.

The lands of Shane were declared forfeited and his vassal chiefs became vassals of the crown. Turlough L. O'Neill, who had been elected by the clansmen on Shane's death, was graciously permitted by the politic queen to occupy the position of chief of his own clan and became "The O'Neill."

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### THE REVOLT OF SIR JAMES FITZMAURICE FITZGERALD.

After Shane O'Neill's death there was a short period of tranquillity, which was occupied by Sidney, the chief governor, in the endeavor to establish the supremacy of Elizabeth in spiritual as well as temporal affairs, "to conquer and to convert, to Anglicize and Protestantize."

The detestable government policy of fostering the ancient feuds and playing off one leader against another, by which their favorite chieftains were destroyed or humiliated, inspired the Irish with a fierce hatred against every English institution, civil and religious. They judged the new system by its results, and these they found were treachery, robbery and assassination. Though systematically plundered by the crown for the support of the army the English Pale was gradually extending its bounds and growing in prosperity. There had been a considerable addition made to the number of counties. The territory of the O'Farrells had been converted into County Longford, the province of Connaught had been subdivided into Counties Mayo and Galway, and Roscommon had Sligo and Leitrim carved out of it.

Thomond had been named County Clare and transferred from the province of Munster to that of Connaught. The lords of the Pale, the Southern chieftains, and the great Norman-Irish barons alike witnessed the destruction of Shane O'Neill with indifference. But the government looked with equal

cupidity on the extensive domains acquired by the descendants of the early settlers and the lands of the Celtic Irish.

The vast estates of Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond, were not likely to escape the notice of "those hungry vultures that haunted the Castle of Dublin." His power from the union of the privileges of an English peer and an Irish chief was viewed by the government with a jealous eye, and the several chief governors were offended by the style of haughty independence assumed on all occasions by the proud nobleman.

His wars with the Butlers were frequent. On one occasion he was wounded, made prisoner and carried on a litter on men's shoulders from the field of battle. "Where now is the great Earl of Desmond?" asked the exultant victors. "Where should he be," replied the gallant lord, "but on the necks of the Butlers?" Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, his great rival, inferior to the Geraldines in wealth, power and valor, more than atoned for this deficiency by his political skill and superior talents as a courtier.

He visited England and soon insinuated himself into the confidence of the queen. He returned to Dublin justly believing that the royal favor would more than counterbalance the valor of his rival or the justice of his claims. The dispute over the boundaries of their several estates was referred to Sidney, the chief governor. After a careful investigation he decided in favor of Desmond. Ormond appealed to the queen and accused Sidney of partiality.

Without the slightest inquiry Elizabeth severely reprimanded the chief governor and commanded him to examine the case again. On the second trial Sidney reversed his former decision, and not only commanded Desmond to restore the disputed

lands but also to reimburse Ormond for the losses he had sustained. On the refusal of Desmond he was seized by the governor and sent a prisoner to Dublin.

The earl requested permission to lay his grievances before the queen, which was granted; but when he arrived at London with his brother, Sir John FitzGerald, they were, without the slightest investigation, sent to the Tower, where they were detained as prisoners for several years. It is not surprising that such characteristic tyranny should inspire both with an aversion for the English government that ended only with their lives.

The queen was constantly requiring schemes by her governors for making the Irish government self-supporting. As a result it was determined that the plan of governing the provinces by presidents should be adopted. These presidents should keep order each in his own province by maintaining a standing army, principally composed of native troops, and should relieve the government of all military expenses by quartering them on the people.

This was in reality reviving, for the benefit of the crown, the old practice of "coyne and livery" which had been so often condemned and prohibited when practiced by the Irish chiefs. The first experiment of this scheme was made in Connaught by the appointment of Sir Edward Fitton to the office of president, with a commission to execute martial law. The immediate result of thus setting aside the ordinary law of the land was a rising of various members of the O'Brian and Burke families, which he vainly endeavored to put down by a succession of violence, and when he had been nearly driven out of the country the government was compelled to recall him.

But the scheme that found most favor with the queen and her stern governor, Sir Henry Sidney,



was the old one of planting the country with English settlers. England was full of men who aspired to be soldiers of fortune. The discovery of America had made them drunk with the spirit of adventure. They looked upon Ireland as a country ripe for colonization, inhabited by a race that deserved no more consideration than the wild beasts, and whose fertile lands were the proper birthright of enterprising but needy younger sons.

In 1570, Shane O'Neill's territory being held to be the property of the crown, a grant was made to an Englishman and his heirs of a portion of County Armagh, and in the same year a grant of two districts in County Down was made to another Englishman for the founding of an English Protestant colony, but both attempts were miserable failures, and the too adventurous colonists were massacred by the O'Neills.

A more determined effort was made in 1573 by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to whom Elizabeth made a grant of half of County Antrim and a portion of Monaghan and gave him the title of president of Ulster. The territory so granted was principally occupied by the Scots of Argyle, who for some years had been emigrating to the coast of Antrim. These were to be exterminated and part of the land leased to the English settlers and part to the Celtic natives. The result was hardly according to his expectations. He was perpetually harassed by both the O'Neills and the Scots, and he and his followers retaliated by committing a series of the most cruel atrocities.

He aimed to simplify matters by treachery and violence—by an indiscriminate slaughter of the Irish and Scots, regardless of age or sex. Finally, ruined in fortune and broken in health, after two years of fruitless endeavor he abandoned his settlement and returned to Dublin to repent of his folly

and to die of vexation. In 1568 there was a systematic scheme of a truly gigantic character made to colonize Munster by a number of adventurers from the West of England.

There were some twenty-seven volunteers or "undertakers," as they were called, who offered to relieve the queen of all expense and trouble in Southern Ireland in return for permission to confiscate Counties Cork, Limerick and Kerry. The leading spirit in this enterprise was an adventurer of ancient blood but broken fortune, Sir Peter Carew, who laid claim to vast estates in Carlow and Cork.

His fraudulent claim was set aside by courts of law, but was arbitrarily upheld by the chief governor and the privy council, and, thus encouraged, he forcibly expelled many of the obnoxious natives in Carlow and retook possession. Some of these speculators or "undertakers" on notoriously fictitious claims took possession of a number of farms belonging to the Earl of Desmond and the MacCarthys, but were promptly expelled by the owners. Sir Peter Carew, with a gang of ruffians, seized some lands belonging to the Earl of Ormond's brother, Sir Edward Butler. The Butlers fell upon him and tried to drive him out by force, wreaking their vengeance on some Irish who had joined themselves to him, and Carew retaliated by attacking Sir Edward's house and massacring every human being he found there, down to a child three years old.

The story of Carew's atrocities spread like wildfire. A suspicion of the secret plans for confiscation ran through the South. A league for self-defense was immediately formed between the Geraldines and the Earl of Ormond's brothers and such of the MacCarthys, O'Brians, Burkes and other clans as had determined to resist the complete revo-

lution in property, religion and law which Elizabeth contemplated.

The Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishop of Emly and Sir James S. FitzGerald, brother of the Earl of Desmond, were sent to solicit aid from King Philip of Spain and the Pope, and the standard of revolt was raised by Sir James FitzMaurice FitzGerald, a cousin of the Earl of Desmond. The earl and his brother, Sir John FitzGerald, had shortly before been seized by Sir Henry Sidney and forwarded to England, where they were lodged in the Tower of London, in order to compel them to accept an adverse decision in their quarrel with the Earl of Ormond, whose steady loyalty to the Tudor family was to be rewarded by a correspondingly steady support. The government, afraid that even Ormond, who was a relative of the queen, might grow disaffected if the conspiracy of confiscation was authenticated, hastened to deny all such intentions, loaded him with favors and persuaded him to detach his brothers from the Geraldine league.

Sidney then collected a force and marched into Waterford and Tipperary, burning villages, blowing up castles and hanging their garrisons. He overawed Connaught by occupying Galway and Roscommon and established Humphrey Gilbert at Kilmallock, in Limerick, to strike terror into the people, which he did effectually by the indiscriminate slaughter of all who came in his way, regardless of age or sex.

Ormond succeeded in pacifying his brothers, who made their submission and were forgiven. Overawed by the activity of the governor, the MacCarthys and the O'Brians followed the example of the Butlers, asking for and obtaining pardon, and Sir James, thus deserted by his confederates, retired with his followers to the wild retreats in the mountains of Kerry. By these cruel measures this for-

midable rising was crushed, and Sir John Perrot was appointed president of Munster, to hunt down Sir James and his companions. For two years the gallant Geraldine chief set him at defiance, taking up his quarters in the well-nigh inaccessible vale of Aherlow and other retreats in the Galty Mountains. Perrot blew up FitzGerald's castles, captured his towns, and hanged his followers as soon as caught.

Finally the last of his strongholds, Castle-maine, after a stubborn resistance of two months was compelled by famine to surrender to the lord-president. At length, when almost as exhausted as Sir James, Perrot opened negotiations with him and the brave chief came in, made his submission, and was pardoned, February, 1753.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### WAR WITH THE EARL OF DESMOND.

The first Desmond revolt had been strangled in its birth, but the English government had so exhausted itself in the effort that the plantation scheme was allowed to slumber till a more convenient season. The Geraldines of Desmond, however, felt that they were marked for destruction and the more determined of them began to turn their eyes towards the foreign enemies of England in the hope of succor. The Earl of Desmond and his brother, Sir John FitzGerald, who had been sent to Dublin and were still detained in custody, made their escape and were received with the utmost enthusiasm by the Southern Irish.

Sir James FitzMaurice FitzGerald went into voluntary exile, wandering from capital to capital of the Catholic continental powers, seeking aid and assistance for his cherished Geraldine league. He got encouragement in Rome and pledges from Spain and in 1579 he set sail for Ireland to try again the hazard of war in his native land. In July he landed in Smerwick harbor, County Kerry, with a few companions and a troop of eighty men, mostly Spaniards, and threw up a small fortification. The moment was well chosen.

The whole South was ripe for revolt and the North was ready to rise at the first success gained by the men of Munster. Connaught, where a rising of the Burkes had only just been crushed with characteristic brutality, was barely held down by the



garrison of Athlone. The native Irish had learned to trust neither the English word nor to look for mercy by the example set by Colonel Francis Cosby and the settlers in Kings and Queens Counties, who in 1577 had exterminated the leaders of the O'Moores, O'Kellys and other clans by a treacherous massacre in the rath of Mullamast. Cosby, the queen's representative in Leix and Offaly, had conceived and executed the idea of preventing any further possible rising of the chiefs of those districts by summoning them and their kinsmen to a great banquet at Mullamast (one of the ancient raths or forts of Leinster, near Athy, in Kildare), and there massacring them all.

Out of four hundred guests only one man escaped from that feast of blood. One of the O'Moores, who had not gone to that fatal banquet, devoted himself to avenging his slaughtered kinsman, and the cry "Remember Mullamast!" sounded dismally in the ears of the settlers of Kings and Queens Counties for a long time after, whenever Rory O'Moore made one of his swoops upon them with that shout for his battle-cry.

The towns of Munster were smarting under the infliction of Sir William Drury's bloody courts. Even the English Pale was disaffected by reason of Sidney's recent endeavor to levy an illegal tax and the queen's arbitrary imprisonment of all those who had ventured to petition against it. On the arrival Sir James FitzMaurice FitzGerald, Sir John and his brother, Sir James S. FitzGerald, with a small troop of their retainers, promptly joined their cousin at Smerwick.

The earl himself hesitated. He was not the man to lead a successful revolt, and though his sympathies were with his brothers he could not make up his mind to throw in his lot with them openly. But the Desmond tribesmen flew to arms

all over Limerick and Kerry, and 3,000 tenants of the Geraldines rose at once in open revolt. At that time the whole of the southern portion of County Limerick was one vast forest, which afforded good cover for the Geraldines.

Here the raw native troops were quickly brought into shape by the drilling of the Spanish soldiers from Smerwick, the cattle driven to shelter, and supplies of all kinds collected. Sir James Fitz-Maurice FitzGerald, with a small troop of horse, started off to cross the Shannon and to raise Connaught, but he was intercepted near the River Muckern, in Limerick, by some of the Irish who were on the side of the queen, and there lost his life in a skirmish. The death of their leader was a heavy blow to the Geraldines. The command now fell to Sir John FitzGerald, brother of the Earl of Desmond. Sir William Drury took the field against him with a small force. For several weeks Drury carried on an unsuccessful campaign and was finally compelled to give up the command.

He was succeeded by Sir Nicholas Malby, who, having been recruited with 600 men from England, came upon the Geraldine brothers at Monaster, near Limerick. A stubborn and bloody battle ensued, resulting in a doubtful victory for the queen's troops. The Earl of Desmond was now declared a traitor by the government unless he surrendered himself a prisoner within twenty days. At length convinced that there was but one course left for him, he openly joined his brothers. Malby now deemed it prudent to retire to his command at Athlone, and Munster was left at the mercy of the Earl of Desmond. He overran the whole country, captured and sacked Youghal, and threatened the City of Cork.

Elizabeth persuaded the Earl of Ormond to take the field against his hereditary enemy and to

co-operate with the new chief governor, Sir William Pelham, and a systematic effort was made to crush the revolt. Pelham and Ormond advanced in two columns, the former from Dublin, the latter from Kilkenny, while the fleet under Sir William Winter sailed around to support them on the coast of Kerry. The path of the two forces was marked by pitiless destruction of life and property: crops and cabins were burned and every living being—the sick, the aged, the women, the infants—were all ruthlessly massacred.

The two commanders met at Tralee and turned northward to destroy Desmond's castles in Limerick. The strong castle of Carrigafoyle, on an island in the mouth of the Shannon, which was held by a small band of Irish and Spaniards, was breached by cannon from the fleet and the whole garrison put to death. Castle after castle was captured and Desmond and his wife were hunted out of Castle Island.

Pelham and Ormond then continued their raid to the extremities of Kerry, plundering, burning and murdering, as far as Dingle and Valencia. They then brought their forces back to Cork. This small but disciplined force, well supplied with fire-arms, had marched from one end of Munster to the other. The Irish, with few muskets, armed for the most part with spears and knives, had been unable to meet the enemy in the field, and when resistance was attempted it was behind stone walls. The ferocity of the two commanders had cowed the people into sullen quiet, and Desmond and his brothers were reduced to the state of hunted fugitives and had taken refuge in the mountains.

A month after the reduction of Munster the long-looked-for Spanish force arrived. Four Spanish vessels eluded the vigilance of the English fleet and in the fatal bay of Smerwick landed 800 Ital-

ians and Spaniards, who occupied the dismantled fort. The Desmond party plucked up heart again, and at the same time the smoldering discontent of the Pale broke out in open revolt. The lords of the Pale, who had resisted Sidney's illegal tax, sullenly watched the progress of the rising of the Southern FitzGerald family, but, like his kinsman of Desmond, the Earl of Kildare hesitated and let the golden moment pass, and now that it was too late an isolated attempt was made.

Lord Baltinglass had been one of the petitioners in the matter of the illegal tax, for which he suffered imprisonment. He was a zealous Catholic and intimately connected by marriage with the O'Byrnes of the Wicklow highlands, and he and they, with many refugees from Queens County, hoping to form the nucleus of a more general rising, rose in open revolt, and were joined by Sir John FitzGerald of Desmond and a band of Munster men from the fastness of Aherlow. Lord Arthur Gray had just arrived in Dublin as governor and hastily marched out to suppress the rising.

The O'Byrnes and their allies were swarming in the valley of Glenmalure and Gray sent his men into the narrow pass, believing he was strong enough to hunt them out. When the royal troops were in the difficult ground a well-directed fire was poured in upon them from the cover of rocks and brushwood. The soldiers advanced through ground that became more and more difficult with every step, and at length became entangled in a bog between two wooded hills, where it became impossible to preserve any longer the semblance of order.

While thus confused and broken they were exposed on all sides to a murderous fire from the woods and rocks that skirted the ravine, and they were cut off almost to a man, the ferocious Sir Peter



Carew and Colonel Francis Cosby of Mullamast infamy being among the slain. A miserable remnant escaped to the chief governor, who returned to Dublin covered with shame and confusion. Lord Gray made no attempt to avenge his defeat, but left the Pale at the mercy of the victors, who ravaged the country to the walls of Dublin, and accompanied by Ormond and a band of English adventurers, among whom were Sir Walter Raleigh and the poet, Edmund Spenser, proceeded by forced marches to Smerwick. The fleet came around to support him by sea and a siege commenced.

After three days the garrison offered to capitulate on terms, but an unconditional surrender was demanded. Next morning (November, 1580) the 800 Spaniards and Italians came out and laid down their arms, all of whom were either shot or hanged by Raleigh and his men, except the officers, who were reserved for a ransom. Munster had been so effectually laid waste by Pelham and Ormond in the early summer that none had stirred and Gray swiftly returned to Dublin.

There he arrested the Earl of Kildare on suspicion and flung him into prison. He turned savagely on the men of Wicklow and, taught by his defeat at Glenmalure, organized a number of small bands to hunt them from the mountains. Some of the leaders were caught and beheaded, but Lord Baltinglass escaped to the continent. A reign of terror now began in Dublin. It was said that a conspiracy to seize the castle and liberate the imprisoned leaders had been discovered and martial law was proclaimed. The less important men were hanged in groups and nineteen of the great chieftains of the Pale were brought to trial on the charge of treason.

Short work was made by pliant juries and all of them were convicted and hanged, while the Earl of Kildare was removed to England to end his days in



the Tower of London. Nothing was now left to be done but to hunt down the Earl of Desmond and those of his adherents who still clung to him. Ormond was placed in supreme command in Munster. The sword and the gallows were the instruments for pacifying the country. Desmond inflicted much damage on Ormond's own country by occasional predatory raids, but his men were growing fewer and fewer in number.

The peasantry would not betray him, but they dared not assist him. His two brothers, John and James, had been captured and put to death. Hunted from valley to valley, with a price upon his head, he was at last driven into the Slieve Mish Mountains, near Tralee, in Kerry, where, November 11, 1583, a party of the queen's soldiers surprised him in a cabin in which he was harboring and put him to death. His head was cut off and carried to Ormond, who sent it to England as a present to the queen, by whose command it was impaled in a cage of iron on London bridge.

Thus perished the great Earl of Desmond, who was long remembered in the tales and traditions of the peasantry under the name of Gerald the Earl, and in their wild legends represented as not dead, but that he and his warriors were sleeping in a cave in the mountains of Kerry in complete armor, with their steeds standing beside them, saddled, and that the earl and his champions would one day arise from their enchanted slumber to liberate the Celts from Saxon bondage.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER—THE ULSTER CONFEDERACY.

The war against Desmond had been conducted with ferocious cruelty unsurpassed in the history of mankind. Fire, famine and slaughter together had desolated the most fertile parts of Munster. From the savage rage of a relentless soldiery innocence furnished no protection. Helpless infancy and tottering age found no mercy.

Thus the last flicker of the Desmond revolt had gone out. It had been extinguished by a system of ferocity not surpassed by anything in the dark pages of history. A fertile province was converted into a desolate waste. Year after year the harvests had been destroyed and famine had cleared the land of all those who escaped the sword. This clearance was necessary for the new plantation scheme. In 1584 Sir John Perrot succeeded Lord Gray as chief governor.

The first act of his administration was to publish a general amnesty and to issue a strict prohibition against the outrages and spoliations of the soldiers, too often encouraged by their commanders. The Desmond estates contained nearly 600,000 acres. Perrot at once summoned a parliament in order that this vast property should be vested in the crown. At first the assembly met the government with the most obstinate resistance, so general was the horror which the iniquitous proceedings against the late Earl of Desmond occasioned.

The great lords naturally were alarmed by the destruction of the greatest of their own party and felt sympathy for the fate of one connected with most of them by marriage or by blood. The massacres and devastations in Munster excited the indignation of many who previously had been attached to the government. They saw the country placed at the mercy of bankrupt adventurers and a licentious soldiery, whose excesses had been encouraged rather than controlled. The policy of exciting revolt in order to reward the retainers of Dublin Castle by confiscation had been openly avowed, and finally the barbarous system of destroying the resources of the country lest, if cultivated, they might enable Ireland to rival England, or perhaps attain independence, had been zealously advocated by the government.

At length, in the second session of the Irish parliament, after a fierce struggle acts were passed for the attainder of the deceased lord and one hundred and forty of his adherents, all of whose immense estates were confiscated by the crown. The great object which the government had so long pursued was now attained. An opportunity was offered for planting, as it was called, an English colony in Ireland.

The needy followers of the court, the younger sons of noble families, the adventurers of more questionable description were invited to become "undertakers," as those who received grants were called. The lands were divided into tracts of from 4,000 to 12,000 acres, to be held by the crown and granted at a yearly rental of from two-pence to three-pence per acre, on condition that the "undertakers" should let them to none but English tenants, should support garrisons on the frontiers of the province, and should not permit any of the native Irish to settle on their estates.

A portion of the property was restored to some of the Geraldines and other old settlers who had sufficient influence to procure pardon, and a very large share of it was seized by retainers of the local government. Great precautions were taken to keep the colonists from amalgamating with the remnant of the native population, which was cleared out of the plain into the upland country. The colony was planted on the profitable lands only.

The rent of the land reserved to the crown amounted to about £23,000 a year. Grants were made to about forty Englishmen, among whom were Sir Walter Raleigh, who obtained 42,000 acres in Cork and Waterford, and Edmund Spenser, who received 3,000 acres in Cork. The land for the most part passed into the hands of new landlords, but the scheme of colonization was a failure. The farmers, the artisans and the laborers did not come over in sufficient numbers. Many of those who did come returned to England on finding themselves harassed and despoiled by the dispossessed native Irish, who formed secret societies for the destruction of the settlers.

The new lords, in violation of their agreement, were glad to take the natives as tenants at will, in order that the lands might be cultivated. The result was a change of ownership of the soil, but not a material change of the population. The Irish gentry, indeed, had been mostly rooted out, but what was left of the Irish peasantry remained on the soil. The intruding English were a mere handful of strangers among a hostile people, and the native Irish were exasperated without being exterminated. The only result of the ten years' desolation was the enriching of a few adventurers and a group of English courtiers.

After the suppression of the war in Munster there was an interval of comparative peace in Ire-

land, which might have been extended had not the tyrannical folly of the English government precipitated a fresh revolt. The South had been subdued by fire and sword; so had Connaught by the merciless tyranny of its president, Sir Richard Bingham. There had been no united rising in Connaught; the great Earls of Thomond in Clare and Clanricard in Galway, who were the chiefs of the O'Brians and Burkes, had steadily adhered to the crown, but there had been much smoldering discontent among many members of the house of Burke, which from time to time burst out in open revolt, and which had been as often suppressed by massacre.

Perrot, the chief governor, was a stern but not a merciless man, with a fierce temper, which made him many enemies among his own associates. He disliked the policy of Bingham in Connaught and challenged him. He had knocked down Sir Henry Bagnall, who differed with him in opinion on matters of state. His popularity among the Irish at one time had been considerable, but was destroyed by the following outrage:

He treacherously captured Hugh Roe, or Red Hugh O'Donnell, son of Sir Hugh O'Donnell of Donegal, and kept him in Dublin Castle as a hostage for his father's good behavior, and thus made young Red Hugh a bitter and dangerous enemy to the crown. Elizabeth was told that Perrot refused to punish O'Rourke, who, it was said, had dragged an effigy of her majesty at the tail of a horse. This suggestion of indifference to her personal dignity aroused her suspicious nature, and in 1588 Perrot was recalled to London "to eat his heart out and die in the Tower" and Sir William FitzWilliam sent over in his stead.

After six years of exasperating rule FitzWilliam gave place to Sir William Russell, who found the country hopelessly disorganized. Red Hugh O'Don-



nell had broken out from Dublin Castle and after many hairbreadth escapes reached his home in Donegal, and his old father resigned the chieftainship of his clan to him. The cruelties of Bingham had driven Connaught to desperation. Even Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, who hitherto had been regarded as the most loyal to the crown, was now suspected of wavering in his allegiance.

The clans of Ulster, which had remained quiet during the wars in Munster, at last exasperated by the intolerable oppressions of successive chief governors or other agents of the government, began to look to their great chief, Hugh O'Neill, as the one most likely to liberate them from the yoke of England. The O'Rourkes, MacGuires and O'Donnells were in open revolt. Twelve years of ferocious misrule had brought the whole country to a state of ferment fit to be molded by a vigorous hand into a general struggle for independence.

Hugh O'Neill, nephew of the late Shane O'Neill and grandson of that Con O'Neill whom Henry VIII. made Earl of Tyrone, was the most able and prominent of the Ulster nobility. He was brought up at the English court and confirmed in the earldom and possession of Tyrone by the English government. In the brilliant court of Elizabeth the young Irish chief was early distinguished for his many gifts of mind and person. When allowed to return to his own country he assumed his title of Earl of Tyrone and revived the customs of an independent Irish chieftain.

O'Neill was a man of great ability and tenacity of purpose. His tried valor, activity and skill were well known to both the English and his own countrymen. The treacherous imprisonment of his brother-in-law, Red Hugh O'Donnell, by Perrot, had deeply angered O'Neill, and when Red Hugh made his escape, burning with an implacable hatred

against the government, he used all his eloquence to persuade O'Neill to unite with him for the independence of the country.

The earl's sympathies were also aroused by the wrongs that his brother chieftains in Ulster had to endure, but he well knew the vast resources and power of England, and without help from abroad he believed that a rising would be madness. After the death of his first wife O'Neill formed a romantic attachment for the beautiful sister of Sir Henry Bagnall, the lord-marshal, and the lady loved him in return.

But Bagnall forbade the marriage, and when, in defiance of her brother's stern opposition, she eloped with the Irish chief the lord-marshal became his implacable enemy. Bagnall now determined if possible to ruin O'Neill. He never ceased trumping up charges of treason against him, and basely intercepted the answers which Tyrone made to those charges. The queen had ordered O'Neill to raise six companies for the defense of Ulster. It was reported that by continually changing his soldiers he was training the entire province to arms. She had directed him to build a house in the English fashion suited to his rank.

It was asserted that the lead he purchased for the battlements was designed to form bullets. She requested him to use his influence over the neighboring chieftains for the maintenance of peace. His exertions in that direction were stigmatized as a direct assumption of royal authority. The prudence and political wisdom of O'Neill enabled him for a time to baffle the artifices of his insidious enemies, but the queen's suspicions at length became aroused and she hastened to reinforce the army in Ireland with 3,000 men.

Tyrone now saw only two courses open to him. He must either adhere to the government, which

mistrusted him, or throw in his lot with the Northern chieftains, who would welcome him as a great acquisition to their cause. He knew that if he were to hope for success there must be union among the Irish and that a determined effort must be made to obtain the genuine assistance of King Philip of Spain, the great enemy of Elizabeth.

O'Donnell since his escape had been at open war with the government and had repeatedly endeavored to induce his brother-in-law to unite with him against the common enemy. The situation of O'Neill was now in the highest degree embarrassing. His countrymen in Ulster unanimously invited him to become their leader in war; the royal officers were resolved to discredit his desire for peace; the perfidy and treachery of the local government were so notorious that it would have been madness to place any confidence in it, and his letters to England were intercepted by the malignant vigilance of Bagnall.

Driven forward by such a combination of circumstances, O'Neill, after a long and anxious delay, took the decisive step and joined O'Donnell, and early in 1595 the two gallant leaders set themselves resolutely to work to form an extensive confederacy against England. Once chosen, Tyrone pursued his course with set purpose. An agreement of the two great Northern clans of O'Donnell and O'Neill was in itself a formidable coalition. It became far more serious when, with calculating deliberation, the other leading chiefs of the North, whose independence it had been the policy of the government to foster, gave their adherence to the scheme.

Maguire of Fermanagh, McMahon of Monaghan, O'Rourke of Leitrim and Cavan, MacGenis of Down and the Scots of Antrim all joined the league. They enlisted Theobald and Ulick Burke, O'Dowd and O'Conor of Sligo, with the O'Kellys

and MacDermots of Connaught, and some English in Meath, led by Tyrrell and the Nugents. They were joined by O'Byrne of Glenmalure and two Geraldines of the house of Kildare in Leinster, with a portion of the O'Tooles, MacMurroughs and other clans of Leinster.

A solemn engagement was entered into by all the confederates to stand by each other and to make no submission and accept no terms that did not include them all. An appeal was distinctly made to Catholics to treat the question as a religious one and to join the movement in defense of their faith. Tyrone and O'Donnell wrote letters to the King of Spain, urging him to send them troops "to restore the faith of the church."

Turlough L. O'Neill, the old chief and nominal head of the clan, died about this time, and Tyrone promptly assumed the title of "The O'Neill."

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### BATTLES OF THE YELLOW FORD AND CURLIEU MOUNTAINS.

The league of the North was a thing of gradual growth. First the Ulster chiefs had combined; soon Connaught was raised; then the discontented in Meath and Leinster were brought over, and finally those restless spirits of Munster who survived the Desmond revolt were induced by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, after his first success, to strike once more for the independence of their country.

The Blackwater was O'Neill's boundary and he commenced hostilities by seizing the English fort that commanded the passage of the river, while Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who had under his banner almost all the clans of Ulster not enlisted with O'Neill, proceeded to overrun Connaught. On the first news of these hostilities an additional force of 2,000 English veterans was sent into Ireland, and soon Sir John Norris, a general of "approved skill and valor," was appointed to take command of the army.

The government sent Norris to face O'Neill; Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, was compelled to act on the defensive in the West, and a successful raid by the chief governor, Sir William Russell, into Leinster resulted in the surprise and defeat of Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne, called by the English "the firebrand of the mountains." After a good deal of desultory fighting on the frontier of Monaghan and Armagh, in which O'Neill had the



advantage, efforts were made at negotiations. The arrangement of a treaty was protracted to a very unusual length and was not infrequently interrupted by renewed hostilities. The Irish chiefs were conscious of their strength. The successes they already had obtained were sufficiently decisive to inspire confidence and they had received many promises of assistance from Spain.

O'Neill, who was anxiously looking for help from that country, did his best to spin out the correspondence. The demands of the Irish confederates were the withdrawal of all garrisons beyond the English Pale and liberty of conscience. To these terms the government would not agree, and on the arrival of three Spanish frigates with arms and ammunition in Donegal bay, hostilities were recommenced. Sir William Russell had been succeeded by Lord Burgh as chief governor. The career of the latter, who hoped to achieve fame and fortune by a vigorous prosecution of the war, was brief and disastrous.

He collected his forces with extreme diligence, summoned the lords to the Pale to attend his standard, and advanced towards Ulster with a power apparently sufficient to bear down all opposition. O'Neill, on his part, displayed equal vigor and greater skill. He sent Richard Tyrrell, his lieutenant, to rouse the clans of Connaught, while he collected all his adherents in Ulster. Tyrrell obtained signal advantages over the enemy, which he defeated in two decisive engagements.

Lord Burgh, undaunted by these reverses, boldly attacked O'Neill in his lines near Armagh, and after a fierce encounter drove the Irish from their intrenchments. O'Neill retired in good order to another and better position, which the English immediately assailed. They were defeated and Lord Burgh, with the flower of his army, fell in the con-

flict. Soon afterwards Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, now lord-justice, was intrusted with the command of the royal army. O'Neill made overtures to Ormond for an accommodation and a new treaty was commenced.

The object of O'Neill in this negotiation apparently was only to gain time for the double purpose of recruiting his own strength and wearing out the patience of his opponent. When the preparations were complete he threw off the mask, boldly declared his independence, and laid close siege to the Blackwater fort, which had been recovered by the English. Sir Henry Bagnall, the lord-marshal, was ordered to relieve the place. The two generals, O'Neill and Bagnall, closely connected by marriage, were yet animated by more than mortal enmity. The English and Irish forces were nearly equal, each having about 5,000 men. The English possessed superior advantages in arms and discipline, but the Irish were animated by a fierce spirit and had a more skillful commander.

On the 14th of August, 1598, Bagnall, at the head of 4,000 foot and 350 horse, set out from Armagh for the fort. The main body of the Irish, of equal strength with the enemy in infantry, but somewhat superior in cavalry, occupied an intrenched position on the small river Callan, at the Yellow Ford, about two miles from Armagh. O'Neill's wings rested on bogs and woods; deep trenches were drawn out through the roads and fields, and numerous pitfalls were added to the impediments. The ardor of the troops was inflamed by the recitations of O'Donnell's poet, O'Cleary, and their confidence strengthened by his allusions to a prophecy of St. Bearchan, which foretold that Hugh O'Neill would defeat the foreigners at the Yellow Ford.

As Bagnall's vanguard proceeded it was severely galled by O'Neill's skirmishes. Nevertheless, they

pushed on and gallantly carried the first intrenchment, but on their advance the Irish made a furious charge, which drove them back beyond the trench. The regiment in the van was cut to pieces before it could receive support, as the divisions were disposed too far apart to receive mutual succor in the sudden emergencies of battle.

Bagnall behaved gallantly. At the head of his own regiment he forced the trench a second time, and now the engagement became general at all points. Nothing, however, could withstand the impetuosity of O'Donnell, Maguire, O'Hanlon, MacDonnell and their men. Though repeatedly checked by the cool intrepidity of the English troops under Cosby and Wingfield, yet they drove back the front line before the reserve could come up. The explosion of an ammunition wagon and the fall of Bagnall, who received a musket shot in the forehead as he was raising his visor to take a better survey of the field, created confusion and spread dismay through the English ranks.

O'Neill perceived the fortunate moment and did not hesitate to seize it. Followed by forty horse and some spearmen he threw himself upon the point where he had observed the most wavering and confusion and thoroughly broke the line. His whole centre advanced, but before he could come to close quarters the English rallied and received his furious onset with equal fury and characteristic steadiness. Meanwhile the storm in front was but a breath compared to the tempest in the rear. In the advance on that quarter the greatest triumph of the English was to accomplish one-quarter of a mile in an hour and a half, and that quarter of a mile "swam with the boiling blood of both sides."

Here "the Queen's O'Reilly," so called because of his unpatriotic service, gave convincing proofs of dauntless valor and rare skill. Retreat

after retreat he recovered and restored the contest with fresh vigor. The news of the death of the commander had not reached this quarter when O'Reilly was making his last effort to infuse his own indomitable soul into his troops and cut short an impending flight. This last effort had just succeeded, and the deeds of bravery renewed, when the denational, though brave, chieftain fell and resigned the field to a foe that won it well and dearly.

The rout now became general. The slain numbered 2,000, the proximity of Armagh alone saving the remainder from being cut to pieces. The Irish loss was 800. The battle was over at noon, August 14, 1598. The victory of the Irish was decisive. Twenty thousand pieces of gold, thirty-four standards, all the artillery, arms and ammunition remained in the possession of the conquerors. The misplaced bravery of Maelmuire O'Reilly, the Irish chieftain attached to the royal cause, alone had saved the English army from annihilation.

This signal defeat came like a thunderbolt on the English government. The Blackwater fort at once surrendered and the town of Armagh was abandoned by the royal garrison. The flame of revolt spread rapidly through the entire island. The Irish who had been deprived of their lands with one accord attacked the settlers and drove them from their settlements.

The chief clans in Leinster and the South and the survivors of the Geraldines in Munster were all in arms. The English everywhere sought refuge in the fortified towns on the East coast and dared not move beyond their walls. O'Neill made every use of his advantages. He reconciled old feuds, allayed former animosities, and gave the Irish clans a degree of union and combination that they rarely before had possessed. He also sent ambassadors to the Spanish court eagerly entreating King Philip to



send him effective assistance. All Connaught and Leinster were in open revolt. The Earl of Ormond was cooped up in Kilkenny. Captain Richard Tyrrell and the Irish clans were masters of Meath. Nearly all Munster had risen. O'Donoghoe, O'Donovan, O'Mahony, Condon, MacCarthy and O'Sullivan, chiefs of the clans of those names, and James FitzGerald, the "Sugan Earl," a nephew of the late Earl of Desmond, and other Geraldines, joined the national cause.

All Ireland, except Dublin and a few garrison towns, was now in the hands of the Irish, who rioted in the wild intoxication of revenge in every quarter of the island. This third Irish war against Elizabeth was the crisis in the fate of Ireland. Not only was there, almost for the first time in Irish history, something like a united effort on the part of the native population to expel the English and to re-establish the ancient laws and the ancient faith, but the comparative strength of the two parties was altered.

The Irish now had a formidable army, well drilled and disciplined. It was commanded by men many of whom had served in the queen's army, and Elizabeth complained that one-third of her forces had been recruited from natives who had served in the ranks and then deserted to the Irish with their arms. The Irish were well supplied with arms and ammunition, imported from Spain or captured from the enemy. Reports reached the English queen that King Philip of Spain was preparing two immense armaments, one to invade England and the other to aid O'Neill in Ireland.

In the spring of 1599 she sent over 20,000 infantry and 1,300 horse under the command of her favorite, the Earl of Essex, considered one of the most gallant soldiers of the age. Essex received the title of lord-lieutenant and more ample powers than



the caution of Elizabeth hitherto had permitted her to confer on a subject.

The news of the arrival of such an immense armament did not diminish the confidence of O'Neill and his followers. They waited with stern indifference the proceedings of Essex and determined to wear him down by a tedious defensive war. Instead of marching into Ulster to meet O'Neill, Essex marched southward to an exhausted country, where his troops were wasted by fatigue and famine. Accompanied by Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, he proceeded to Limerick, where he was joined by Sir Conyers Clifford, president of Connaught; Donough O'Brian, Earl of Thomond; De Burgh (or Burke), Earl of Clanricard, and Donough O'Connor of Sligo, who were among the few unpatriotic Irish leaders now remaining in the English ranks.

The Irish were far too cautious to be drawn into an encounter in the field, but during the whole of his expedition they harassed him by repeated attacks, in which he lost not only rank and file but also many veteran officers. The Geraldines avoided any decisive battle, but obtained several advantages in Munster over detachments of Essex's army. The royal cavalry in its passage through Queens County suffered severely from an attack by the Irish led by the celebrated Anthony O'Moore, and such was the quantity of feathers lost by the brilliant corps that the Irish named the place of action "The Pass of Plumes."

The O'Byrnes of Leinster, with inferior forces, severely and decisively defeated another division of Essex's army. Elizabeth, who had expected rapid success from the well-known valor of her favorite, was irritated at the news of these reverses and furious at the meagre results obtained with what she believed to be an overwhelming force, taunted Essex with incapacity and answered his letters (detailing

plans of pacification) with severe reprimands, and with difficulty could be persuaded to grant him reinforcements of 2,000 men.

The gallant earl's dispatches evince equal benevolence and political wisdom. He earnestly presses on the English government the necessity of conciliation and concession and solicits its attention to the interests of the people. The answer to all his state papers was a peremptory order to march into the North. While the earl was advancing through Ulster, Sir Conyers Clifford, in the Curliou Mountains, fell into an ambuscade contrived by O'Donnell in Connaught, and was slain with half his army.

The battle took place August 15, 1599. Essex advanced to the banks of the River Lagan, which separates Monaghan from Louth, but O'Neill had by this time learned the character of his vain, ambitious opponent, and, anxious to gain time, determined to open negotiations. The earl lent a willing ear to the flattering messages of the Irish chief and granted him a personal interview. The two generals led their armies to the opposite banks of the river and then rode to a neighboring ford. Scarcely had the feet of the lord-lieutenant's charger touched the water when O'Neill spurred his horse through the stream while the water rose above his saddle and crossed over.

Essex at once entered into an animated conversation with the Irish chieftain and rode with him along the banks of the river in sight of the wondering armies. Their private conference lasted a long time and speculation was busy guessing at the subjects they discussed. Finally, the officers of both armies were summoned, and in their presence O'Neill, having stated the grievances by which he was driven to revolt, proposed terms of accommodation. A truce was established in order to afford





time for due consideration of the several articles and the royal army returned to its quarters in Leinster.

The indignation of Elizabeth at this strange termination of a campaign from which she had expected so much was violent. She wrote a severe letter to the lord-lieutenant, reprobating his conduct in no measured terms. Essex at first meditated the project of leading the flower of his army into England and forcing his way to the royal presence, but, being dissuaded by his friends, he resigned his power to two lords-justices and September, 1599, departed to England to find disgrace and meet death.



## CHAPTER XXX.

### END OF THE WAR WITH HUGH O'NEILL, AND DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, who had been appointed to the command of the queen's army, wished to maintain peace with O'Neill, but that chief was no longer disinclined to war. He had lately received assurances of assistance from Spain and the Pope incited him to continue steadfast in support of the Catholic faith.

A war of petty skirmishes, interrupted by truces which neither party regarded, continued for a time, and in some of these encounters Sir Warham, St. Leger and Sir T. Norris, the ablest of the English officers, were slain. In 1600 Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was appointed by the queen to the hazardous post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. His military skill and political knowledge were adorned by the rarer graces of literature.

Mountjoy was assisted by several men of great abilities in the inferior departments of government, among whom the Earl of Ormond and Sir George Carew, president of Munster, were the most conspicuous. The war recommenced with great activity, but no decisive battle was fought. O'Neill, with consummate ability, avoided every attempt to force him to a general engagement and broke through the hostile lines when efforts were made to blockade his troops. When Sir George Carew was proceeding to Munster he was invited by the Earl of Ormond to attend a conference with Anthony

O'Moore. Carew and the Earl of Thomond desired that they be attended by a sufficient guard, but Ormond steadfastly refused to take more than seventeen.

The place of meeting was in the vicinity of a wood, behind which O'Moore had stationed a numerous band, in addition to a large body of pikemen by whom he was openly escorted. During the discussion O'Moore's followers gradually advanced, while Carew in vain warned Ormond of his danger. At length they seized the earl, but Carew and Thomond escaped by the swiftness of their horses. Ormond was long detained a prisoner, for Mountjoy rejected the terms of ransom offered by O'Moore. They were sufficiently exorbitant to justify this refusal, even though the deputy was secretly pleased with the removal of a nobleman whom he regarded as the rival to his power.

The system of warfare pursued by Mountjoy and Carew was that which had been found so successful in destroying the Earl of Desmond. Bribes were offered to the inferior chiefs for desertion. Rivals were encouraged to assail the claims of those chieftains who still adhered to O'Neill. The houses were destroyed and cornfields consumed. Fire and famine were once more brought to the aid of slaughter. Carew was more merciless than Mountjoy in establishing this cruel system. He was naturally cruel and rapacious, a deliberate encourager of treachery, and not ashamed to avow and defend perfidy and assassination.

An attempt had been made to intercept O'Neill on his way back to the North from Munster, where he had been receiving the submission and homage of the Southern Irish, but he managed to give Mountjoy the slip and hastened back to defend Ulster. The vigilant lord-lieutenant now gave him enough to do in his own territory to keep him from assisting the

other provinces. Now the tide of success began to turn against the Irish.

As Mountjoy began to be strong and capable some of the Irish chiefs began to change sides. Mountjoy and Carew accepted their submission and put a price of £1,000 on the heads of the Earl of Desmond and the Earl of Tyrone. Queens County was overrun and Anthony O'Moore, after many victories over the enemy, at last fell in battle. Hugh Maguire of Fermanagh, one of O'Neill's bravest leaders, had fallen in Cork during the march in the South.

Devastation greatly reduced O'Neill's strength. His adversaries derived their supplies from England; his resources were destroyed when his own fields were wasted; still he bravely continued the war, relying on the promised aid of the Spaniards and stimulated by emissaries from Rome, who exhorted him to persevere. He was, besides, well aware that the late submissions to the government were hollow and insincere, as no provision was made for the removal of the grievances which had caused the revolt.

Grievous exactions were made from the proprietors of land. Juries were packed in the most open and shameful manner. Innocent persons were executed, sometimes without the formality of a trial, or often, when that was granted, by the verdict of a tribunal whose forms were a cruel mockery. The penal laws against Catholics were enforced and English settlers drove the natives from their lands without the pretense of a claim.

The knowledge of these circumstances induced O'Neill to persevere, though he knew that his chances of final success were diminishing every day with fearful rapidity. In Munster, Carew, a stern and skillful leader, had reduced the most powerful clans and gained possession of the persons of sev-

eral chiefs, among whom were the Earl of Desmond and Florence MacCarthy, who were forwarded to England to end their days in the Tower of London.

The long-expected reinforcements from Spain at length arrived, but the English had sufficient warning and were prepared to meet them. The expedition was one of the worst planned and worst executed ever sent by a government. It had been delayed too long. It was insufficient in numbers; its leader was a brave soldier, but incompetent as a commander. Don Juan d'Aguila, to whom King Philip had intrusted a small fleet and 3,000 men, with little judgment resolved to land in the South of Ireland, while O'Neill and O'Donnell, to whose assistance he had come, were shut up in the North. In September, 1601, the fleet appeared in the harbor of Kinsale, County Cork, where the Spaniards immediately landed and occupied the town, their fleet sailing away.

To add to Don Juan's confusion, Carew and Mountjoy, having collected a powerful army and a few ships of war, invaded Kinsale and pushed the siege with vigor. O'Neill was not a little perplexed by the awkward situation of the Spaniards. A march through an exhausted country with forces already disheartened by calamity was an enterprise full of danger.

On the other hand, it was clear that Don Juan, unless speedily relieved, would be forced to surrender. The Spaniards, already disgusted with the expedition, sent the most urgent letters to O'Neill and O'Donnell soliciting their aid. The march of the Irish army sufficiently proves the ability of the leaders and the zeal of their followers. O'Neill and O'Donnell, with all the forces at their command, hurried from the North to relieve their Spanish allies.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of the country



O'Donnell advanced with his baggage and artillery at the rate of forty miles a day, and by his extraordinary celerity and vigilance baffled Carew, who marched to intercept him at Tipperary before O'Neill came up. About the time that O'Neill arrived before Kinsale a second Spanish armament of 700 men reached the bay of Baltimore and were enthusiastically received by the neighboring clans. The Irish of the rocky promontories of Southern Cork and Kerry, who till now had looked on in sullen silence, rose almost to a man, and Donnell O'Sullivan and Fineen O'Driscoll received Spanish garrisons in their castles.

Other chieftains who had hitherto preserved their allegiance to the government also took up arms, and O'Neill was thus enabled to blockade the lord-lieutenant in his camp. For two days the armies sat watching each other. Mountjoy's men were thus placed in a most perilous situation. They were at once besiegers and besieged; their supplies from the country were cut off; and the sea, which the English fleet kept open to them, still was a precarious ground of confidence.

In fact, nothing appeared necessary for the complete destruction of an army on which the fate of a country depended but that O'Neill should remain quietly in the position he had selected. He well knew his advantage and could not be tempted by all the arts of the English leader to quit his intrenchments, but the confident Don Juan was eager to exhibit his valor in a pitched battle. Mountjoy, having discovered by his spies the feelings of Don Juan, made use of the most ingenious artifices to increase the latter's confidence.

He sent pretended deserters into the town, who described the queen's army as reduced to a state of disorganization, and asserted that the soldiers were so worn down by fatigue and famine as to be incapa-



ble of an effective resistance. Don Juan wrote the most impressing letters to O'Neill, urging him to crush the English at once, and promising to aid him by a sally from the town.

O'Neill continued to refuse, but the chiefs by whom he was supported joined in the solicitation of the Spaniard and an unwilling assent was at length wrung from the gallant chieftain. It was resolved to attack the English camp by night. O'Neill had under his command about 6,000 foot and 500 horse, including O'Donnell's division of 2,500 men and 300 Spaniards who had been landed at Castlehaven. An intercepted letter from Don Juan to O'Neill revealed the plan to Mountjoy, who made his preparations accordingly.

The moment O'Neill saw the English lines he knew that his plans had been betrayed. On the instant he determined to change his course of action, but his orders were misunderstood by a portion of his troops and his lines were thus broken. The Earl of Clanricard and Sir R. Wingfield, marshal of the horse, precipitated their cavalry through this fatal gap and the fate of the battle was soon decided.

O'Neill made several desperate but ineffectual efforts to retrieve the fortunes of the day. O'Donnell, who commanded the rear, made a gallant attempt at resistance, but the panic at last became general and he strove in vain to rally the broken forces. The carnage was awful. The 300 Spaniards made a gallant stand, but their leader was taken and most of them were cut to pieces. No quarter was given except to a few of the captured Spaniards. The Irish chiefs who were made prisoners were hanged the morning after the action.

O'Neill tried to persuade his followers to resume their former stations or to take the chance of a second battle, but they almost unanimously re-

solved to return home. This disastrous battle was the turning point of the war. All hope of relieving Kinsale was now abandoned and O'Neill led back his shattered forces to defend the borders of his own country.

O'Donnell went to Spain to seek further help, where he soon after died—poisoned, it is said, by an emissary from England. Don Juan now offered to capitulate on honorable terms, which were accepted by Mountjoy, whose interest it was to terminate the war as soon as possible, and January, 1602, the English obtained quiet possession of the castles garrisoned by the Spaniards, who, accompanied by many Irish refugees, returned to Spain.

Donnell O'Sullivan was by no means satisfied with this arrangement. He turned the Spaniards out of his castle at Dunboy, garrisoned it with his own followers, and resolved on an obstinate defense. The strength of the castle severely taxed the ingenuity of the general and the valor of his soldiers. At length a lodgment was effected in the walls, but the garrison refused to yield. They fought the besiegers from room to room, and when at last driven to the cellar the commander, Richard MacGeoghegan, made a desperate but unsuccessful attempt to blow up both victors and vanquished by endeavoring to plunge a lighted candle into a barrel of gunpowder.

He was instantly dispatched and the few surviving Irish heroes were hanged. The war in Munster was now virtually over. Many of the Irish chiefs that escaped the sword fled to Spain, where some of their descendants still may be found. O'Sullivan refused to become an exile, and collecting the remnant of the Southern troops maintained a predatory warfare under cover of the Southwestern bogs and mountains.

This desperate contest was attended by a great

waste of life, for no quarter was given on either side. O'Sullivan was finally reduced to such straits by overwhelming numbers and the vigor of Carew that he resolved to force his way into Ulster and unite his shattered troops with those of the yet unconquered Northern chieftains. Carew sent a strong body of light troops to harass the fugitives, but, maddened by despair, they turned on their pursuers and boldly gave them battle.

The Irish suffered severely in this battle, but it is said not a single Englishman escaped. The last spark of revolt in Munster was now stamped out with awful ferocity. The returning settlers and Carew's soldiers laid waste the whole province, not leaving behind man or beast, corn or cattle. The war of desolation was now renewed in the North, where Mountjoy was gradually hemming in O'Neill, who every day saw his bravest followers perishing by the slow and painful death of famine. His allies were either exiles or had purchased precarious safety by submission, and his proud heart was humbled by witnessing calamities he could not avert and misery he was unable to relieve. Though not yet a hunted fugitive, he saw that all hope of final success was gone. His territory was so wasted that the people were dying of starvation by hundreds, the country was strewn with unburied corpses, and an active and determined enemy was gradually drawing the net more tightly around him.

Under these circumstances O'Neill offered terms of submission, which Mountjoy readily accepted. He surrendered his estates and renounced all claim to the title of "The O'Neill" or authority over his neighbors. He renounced all alliances with foreign powers and promised to introduce English laws and customs into Tyrone. In return he received a full pardon and the re-grant of his title of Earl of Tyrone and lands by letters patent, and a general par-

don was given his followers, and also the full possession of their estates and the free exercise of their religion guaranteed to the Catholics.

Rory O'Donnell, Red Hugh's brother, also submitted and was allowed to retain the title of Earl of Tirconnell. At the moment when O'Neill made his submission Elizabeth had breathed her last, March 24, 1603.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS—THE PLANTATIONS OF ULSTER AND LEINSTER.

On the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, King James VI. of Scotland, son of Mary Queen of Scots, ascended the English throne as King James I., and thus England and Scotland were united under one sovereign.

At this time Mountjoy and Carew had stamped out every spark of hostility in every part of Ireland. The power of the Irish was completely broken by the process of starvation. The system pursued both in the North and the South of destroying the crops removed the whole source of sustenance on which the mass of the people depended. To add to the loss of the food at hand, Elizabeth's practice of debasing the coin had doubled and trebled the price of every purchasable article, and a fatal pestilence had followed upon the famine. The people of Ulster died by thousands, their bodies lying in ditches, their mouths green with docks and nettles on which they had endeavored to support life.

The subjugation was ruthlessly accomplished. Mountjoy and Carew planted garrisons at intervals in the disaffected country, effectually kept up the lines of communication between them and the old fortified positions, scoured the intervening country with small bodies of horse and foot, burned the huts, drove off the cattle, and utterly laid waste every cultivated patch.



The great mass of the Irish people had sunk into a hopelessly wretched condition. The incessant fighting among themselves and with the settlers, and afterwards the devastating wars of Elizabeth's reign, had effectually checked their progress in civilization.

Into this inheritance came James VI. of Scotland in 1603. His real character was unknown to the leaders of the English interest. The Irish Catholics believed that in him they would find a patron and a friend. They argued that the son of Mary Queen of Scots, who had died a martyr to the faith, would not long continue to support the new religion, and acting on this mistaken notion they immediately proceeded to establish the public exercise of the ancient religion.

The cities of Munster were foremost in this movement, and Mountjoy immediately marched southward to crush this new spirit. When he arrived before Waterford he was met by a deputation of the citizens, who showed him a charter of King John by which that city was excused from quartering soldiers. Mountjoy terrified the citizens by threatening if the gates were not instantly opened that "he would cut asunder the charter of King John with the sword of King James."

Such reasoning was irresistible. The city at once yielded, and in a few days Clonmel and Cashel imitated the example. Cork surrendered after a short siege and a few of the leaders were executed. A royal proclamation was issued to the effect that no toleration to the Catholic religion would be given; that all Jesuits and priests should quit the country, and that all laws against the ancient faith would be strictly enforced.

Mountjoy, rewarded with an earldom, returned to England. He was succeeded by Sir Arthur Chichester. Sir Arthur was a man of strong Puritan

tendencies and determined to act rigorously on the proclamation. Accordingly, sixteen of the aldermen and chief citizens of Dublin were ordered to attend the new service in Christ Church, and on their not appearing were heavily fined and flung into prison.

Great indignation was felt throughout the Pale, or English colony. The Catholic peers and gentry petitioned the king, but the leaders of this movement were imprisoned. The taking of the oath of supremacy was enforced on all persons called to fill any office, civil or military, which practically excluded all Catholics. The penalty of twelve-pence for not attending the Reformed church on every Sunday was sternly exacted in Meath, West Meath, in Kings and Queens Counties, and in the towns of Munster and Connaught.

Elizabeth, for the purpose of educating young men for the ministry, had founded Trinity College in Dublin and endowed it with the lands of the monastery of All-Hallows. King James greatly increased its endowment. Sir Arthur labored vigorously to accomplish the work of introducing the system of English law that his predecessor had begun.

The Irish customs of tanistry and gavelkind were declared illegal, the tenures of land modeled after the English form, the division of the island into counties completed, and the circuit of the judges permanently established. To these measures were added the revival of the penal code, which Sir Arthur, cruel and avaricious, administered with a vigor even beyond the law. His great anxiety was to make a fortune. The king was a vain pedant, proud of his talents as a statesman and theologian, but the punishment of Catholics at this time seemed the more strange as James was suspected of a secret attachment to the ancient doc-

trines. Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had been over to the English court, where he was graciously received by the king, who confirmed him in his title and estates, and had returned to Ireland with the intention of settling down in peace.

Rory O'Donnell, Red Hugh O'Donnell's youngest brother, also had made his peace with the crown. He had been created Earl of Tirconnell and had received a grant of County Donegal, the territory of the O'Donnells. Though shorn of a great deal of their influence, these great chieftains might still be dangerous to the policy of King James, and the government accordingly watched them narrowly for any opportunity to destroy them.

They were insulted by the king's officers, harassed by litigation and worried by spies. Lord Howth, who was admitted by the government to be unworthy of credit, dropped a letter in the council chamber darkly hinting that there was a plot formed by the Irish Catholic lords against the state. No names were mentioned, no particulars given, and yet the government at once fixed upon the Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell as the agents of this pretended conspiracy. Both these chiefs certainly were discontented. They knew that they were viewed with jealousy and hostility by the officers of state, and they were conscious that they had frequently, in conversation, uttered sentiments which easily might be distorted into proofs of disaffection.

They had learned by bitter experience in a former reign that the government was not very scrupulous in the use of means for increasing confiscations, and when they received information that it was the intention of the government to arrest them, being wholly unprepared for resistance, they fled into exile. "It is certain," say the Four Masters, "that the sea never carried and the winds never wafted from the Irish shores individuals more illustrious or

noble in genealogy, or more renowned for deeds of valor, prowess and high achievements."

"Tyrone, with his wife," says J. H. McCarthy, "Tirconnell, with his sister and friends and followers, ninety-nine in all, set sail in one small vessel on the 14th of September, 1607, and tossed for twenty-one days upon the raging waves of the sea. We hear of O'Neill trailing his golden crucifix at the vessel's wake to bring about a calm; of two storm-worn birds who took shelter in the rigging and were cared for kindly by the Irish ladies.

"On the 4th of October they landed on the coast of France and made their way to Rouen, receiving kind treatment at all hands. James demanded their surrender, but the French king refused to comply, though he advised the exiles to go into Belgium. Into Belgium they went, their ladies giving the Marshal of Normandy those two storm-worn birds they had cherished as a token of their gratitude for his kindness.

"From Belgium in time they made their way to Rome, and there lived in exile. Tirconnell died first, in 1608, and the Four Masters weep over his early eclipse. Clad in the simple robe of a Franciscan friar, he was buried in the Franciscan church of St. Pietro in Montorio, where the Janiculum overlooks the glory of Rome, the yellow Tiber, the Alban hills, the deathless Coliseum and the stretching Campagna.

"Raphael had painted the Transfiguration for the grand altar; the hand of Sebastiano del Piombo had colored its walls with the scourging of the Redeemer. Close at hand tradition marks the spot where St. Peter was crucified. In such a spot, made sacred by all that art and religion could lend of sanctity, the spirit of Tirconnell rested in peace at last. His companion in arms and in misfortune survived him some eight years. We have a melan-



choly picture of old Tyrone wandering about in Rome and wishing in vain to be back in his own land and able to strike a good blow for her. He died at last, on July, 20, 1616, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, a brave, sad, blind old man. He was buried in the little church on the Janiculum by the side of Tirconnell."

A few months after the flight of the earls, O'Dougherty of Innishowen and some of the O'Donnells broke out in revolt in the extreme north of the island. They were promptly crushed and a hunted remnant of their followers ruthlessly exterminated in their last refuge, Tory Island.

O'Kane, another Northern chieftain, had been arrested for treason, a charge for which there does not appear to have been a shadow of foundation. But without a trial he was forwarded to the Tower of London, where he afterwards died. The door was now thrown open for a wide and wholesale plantation in Ulster. The opportunity, most gratifying to the pedantic vanity of James, was given to inaugurate a new social and political system. The old order of things was to be entirely wiped out and a new creation was to come into existence. The confiscations thus made by James included the six counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan and Armagh, containing nearly 4,000,000 acres.

The king, without paying any regard to the rights of the occupants, determined to settle in these districts thoroughly Protestant and anti-Irish colonies from England and Scotland and to drive the actual inhabitants into the woods, bogs and mountains. The Irish chiefs possessed the sovereignty but not the property of the soil, consequently the guilt of O'Neill and O'Donnell, though ever so clearly proved, could not affect the rights of their clansmen, who were not even accused of treason.



The scheme of plantation devised by James surpassed that of his predecessor. The lands were divided into tracts of 2,000, 1,500 and 1,000 acres, according to the ability of the "undertakers." They were bound to sublet only to English and Scottish tenants; to give these secure leases on equitable terms; to erect houses after the English fashion, and to adopt the English system of agriculture. They were strictly prohibited from leasing land to the native Irish or to such persons as refused the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

Twelve companies in London obtained very large grants as "undertakers." The discontent was deep and widespread, but a rising was seen to be hopeless and no attempt at resistance was made. Slowly and sullenly the Irish people removed themselves and their belongings into the contracted locations appointed for them, away from the fertile lands to the waste lands, from the rich pasture to the barren moor.

Thrust out of their homes to find new refuges wherein to lay their heads, exiled to make room for the planters, evicted though promised security, they wandered forth, bearing in their hearts bitter hatred for the government that had broken faith with them and longing for the vengeance which they were to mete out in 1641. Many of the old proprietors who were removed from their lands betook themselves to the woods and outlaws' lives and agrarian outrages began to occur. The object of James was to introduce a thoroughly Protestant and anti-Irish element, which should govern the Catholics and natives. The spirit of religious intolerance was now fully awake.

Every Irish interest was identified with the ancient faith, every English interest with Protestantism. The government had determined to transform Ireland to the new creed by the terrors of the law.

The whole country was now subject to the king, and the old Irish law, declared by the government as "a lewd and damnable custom," had been everywhere superseded by the English law. The success of the Northern plantations gave James a taste for confiscation which the officers of the crown were not slow to encourage.

All their ingenuity, however, was not equal to a new plot. They therefore devised a scheme more certain in its effects, and perhaps more glaringly unjust. This was the "commission for the discovery of defective titles," at the head of which was placed Sir William Parsons, an unprincipled adventurer, on whom craft and crime had conferred an unenviable notoriety. During the long wars that had devastated the island in the preceding reigns, and especially the last, property had been in a state of constant fluctuation. Deeds were lost, documents destroyed, feudal services left unperformed, and rent to the crown unpaid.

By taking advantage of these circumstances the king obtained in Leinster alone the forfeiture of nearly 1,000,000 more acres. A class of informers, called "discoverers," was regularly employed by the officers of the crown to search out defective titles. They were rewarded by large grants of lands. The united avarice and extravagance of King James made his administration little better than a deliberate system of robbery, and his officers in Ireland were not behind their master in iniquity. They plundered not only the opponents of the government, but in many cases those who had been taken under its protection.

The local government of Ireland during this disgraceful reign was characteristic. Martial law was proclaimed in times of peace; refractory witnesses were tortured; obstinate jurors were fined and imprisoned; the courts became instruments of

oppression; the judges of the land were cruel, venal and profligate, and peculation and fraud pervaded every office of the state. The rapacity of the "discoverers" and the avarice of the monarch were still unsatisfied and a new scheme of confiscation was devised, which, if put into execution, would have forfeited the entire province of Connaught, the only part of Ireland that had not been planted.

During the reign of Elizabeth the lords and gentry of this province had surrendered their lands to Sir John Perrot and received them back as grants from the queen. Having neglected the enrollment of their patents they again surrendered them to James and paid a sum of £3,000 to have them enrolled. The royal officers, from negligence or design, omitted this form, and James, at the close of his reign, prepared to take advantage of this technicality and seize Connaught as he had Leinster. The proprietors were filled with consternation at this alarming project and immediately prepared to avert the blow.

They knew it would be useless to appeal to the king's justice, his honor, or his humanity, but they were aware he was greedy and needed money, and therefore tendered him a bribe of £10,000. While James hesitated between the temptation of this sum in hand and a larger in prospect he was seized with mortal illness and died, and the squeezing of Connaught was reserved for his unscrupulous son and successor, Charles I.

The general result of the plantation policy was to flood Ireland with a host of needy adventurers, who looked upon the country as a grand field for enterprising persons of slender means. The new colonists were mainly the scum of England and Scotland—debtors, bankrupts and fugitives from justice. To hold a large landed estate in those days was, as it is now, to secure power, influence and rank. The

unscrupulous adventurer, having become possessed of acres, frequently by means which would not bear the light of day, often was made a county magistrate and sometimes elevated to the peerage. Half of the peerage of Ireland at the time of the union (A. D. 1800) was composed of persons whose ancestors had come to Ireland as fortune hunters after the Elizabethan wars. The institution of a local magistracy became a local tyranny in Ireland, where the large land-owner had it all his own way, and where no notice would be taken by the government of any complaint, if such complaint ever succeeded in reaching it.

Being freeholders, the "new men" were of the chosen few who were qualified to act as justices of the peace, to vote for members of parliament, and to fill the office of sheriff. They became small despots in their own part of the country, having very considerable control over the liberties of their neighbors. Many of the new settlers were army men, who obtained large tracts of land as rewards for services.

Another class of persons who made their fortunes at this time were ministers of the new doctrines. A youth would come over as chaplain to the lord-deputy and quickly be pushed into a deanery, a few big livings or a bishopric, and, living comfortably in Dublin, draw his large income, which he invested in land. More than one large estate was thus put together and more than one family thus founded which may be found in the peerage of Ireland.

The new settlers hung together and intermarried with each other. They did not develop the tendency to amalgamate with the Irish people to nearly the same extent as those who had gone before them. They were essentially strangers in the land, who felt that they had gone in for a good

speculation, but would have to do their utmost to maintain their doubtful position.

They knew that they must have England for protection, and so they studiously clung to the English government and its officials in Ireland. They were the embryo of the "Protestant ascendancy" of the 17th and 18th centuries.



## CHAPTER XXXII.

### THE "GRACES" OF CHARLES I.—WENTWORTH AS CHIEF GOVERNOR.

In 1625 King James I. died and his son, Charles I., came into the Irish inheritance to carry out the favorite schemes of his father. On the accession of the new king, who was believed to have strong leanings towards the Catholics, the hopes of the latter rose and some attempt was made to restore the ancient worship in a few of the churches.

Even a Catholic seminary was opened and a body of friars ventured to establish themselves in Dublin. The result was a furious outcry on the part of the Protestant faction. The Catholic college was seized and handed over to the University of Dublin and the friars were driven from their monastery by a file of soldiers. The "new men" into whose hands the reins of power had fallen were all of strong Protestant tendencies. The policy which excluded the Catholics from every office of state placed the government in the hands of the extreme men of the opposite way of thinking. The prelates of the established church, with Archbishop Usher at their head, were all of the extreme ultra-Protestant school. "To grant the papists toleration" was denounced from all the pulpits as "a grievous sin."

On coming to the throne Charles found himself hampered with his father's debts. The extravagance and bad management of James had left the treasury empty. Money must be raised at all hazards and the king was prepared to promise anything

for a good round sum in hand. He was willing to be bribed by the Catholics into granting them civil and religious liberty or to close with the offer of the Connaught land-owners and confirm their titles for a pecuniary consideration.

But the Protestant party in Ireland, though small, was bigoted and powerful. Concessions, therefore, to the Irish Catholics were dangerous, and to satisfy the landed gentry of the Western province "was to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs." The easiest way out of the difficulty was to promise everything, secure the money, and then evade the performance—a scheme that especially commended itself to a mind like that of Charles'. The unprincipled attempt of James to seize on all the lands in Connaught had spread great alarm among all the old proprietors of Irish estates. There was no tenure sufficiently secure to resist the arts of the "discoverers," especially when the officers of state and the judges of the kingdom had joined in their alliance. Much, however, was to be hoped from a new sovereign, and in 1626 a deputation from the principal nobility and gentry of Ireland, mainly Catholic, waited on the king and offered a voluntary contribution of £120,000, to be paid in three years, in return for the concession of civil and religious liberty.

Charles readily promised to grant the concessions, or, as they were called, "graces," and the first installment of £40,000 was cheerfully paid, but the promised "graces" or liberties never came. There never was a time, perhaps, when the spirit of religious fanaticism was more fierce and intolerant than during the period at which we have now arrived. In England and Scotland the Episcopalians and the Puritans were violently opposed; in Ireland Protestant and Catholic interests were guided by the fiercest animosity. The political condition of Ire-

land was still more perplexing. The native inhabitants, deprived of their lands, supported a miserable existence in woods, mountains and remote districts, waiting patiently for a favorable time when the possessions of which they had been despoiled might be recovered.

Nearly all the best lands in Ireland outside of Connaught were in the hands of the notorious "undertakers." Charles and his new lord-deputy, Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was appointed in 1633, soon turned their attention to Connaught. The king's great ally in the management of Ireland was Wentworth, the ablest of his ministers, who devoted the great abilities of which it was said "God had given him the use and the devil the application" to supporting Charles' fraudulent schemes for extorting money until his malign influence was removed by the summons to England in 1640, which ended in his death.

Wentworth regarded Ireland as a conquered country whose inhabitants possessed no civil rights but by the mercy of the crown. He therefore resolved to make the sternest despotism the principle of his government and to admit of no opposition to his imperious will. He believed in paternal government, but appears to have wished to rule the mass of the common people with some justice and moderation so long as the king's interests were not concerned.

His hand was heavy on the castle officials, the upstart nobility of the plantations and the great land-owners of the West, because these resisted his plans for draining their pockets into the king's coffers. Though he crushed the woolen trade for fear it might compete with that of England, he encouraged commerce and had the wisdom to see that the soil was suitable for the growth of flax, and having imported weavers from Belgium and erected mills,

laid the foundation of the Irish linen manufacture. He boasted that his object was "to make Charles the most absolute king in christendom."

For this purpose he endeavored to raise a large revenue to relieve the king's necessities in England and so render him independent of English parliaments; to discipline and reform the Irish army, which might become an important power in any dispute between the king and his English and Scotch subjects; to expel the Puritan preachers (whom he hated) from the plantations, and to drive the Low Church ministers into the High Church ceremonies and doctrines patronized by King Charles.

In enforcing the penal laws he showed so much moderation that he was accused by the Puritans of encouraging papacy, but this was in some degree counterbalanced by his attacks on the proprietors of Connaught, who were principally of the ancient faith. The threat of a plantation in Connaught hitherto had been a most useful lever for the extortion of money. The king had obtained subsidy after subsidy by alternately threatening confiscation or promising confirmation of titles. The ingenuity of the court lawyers sufficed to pick flaws in the letters patent of former sovereigns and the conclusion was soon arrived at that the whole of Connaught was the property of Charles.

Wentworth, proceeding to replenish the treasury still further by attacking the Connaught landowners, went into Roscommon, Leitrim, Mayo and Sligo. The juries were terrified or bribed into finding verdicts for the king, and having thus carried his point in the north and east of Connaught, turned to deal with Galway, where some resistance was expected.

There the population was almost wholly Catholic and devoted to Burke, Earl of Clanricard. The greater portion of the freeholders were either Burkes



or allied to the Burkes by marriage. Wentworth held his court in the earl's own castle, but coercion was met with stubborn resistance, and the juries found verdicts for the land-owners. Wentworth, furious at the resistance to his will, fined the sheriff £1,000 and imprisoned him also for returning an obstinate jury. He dragged the jurors before the Castle Chamber, where they were cross-questioned and each fined £4,000 and sentenced to imprisonment until the fines were paid and they should change their decision.

The wretched sheriff died in prison; the old Earl of Clanricard sank into his grave from grief and mortification; and finally, overmatched in the struggle, the land-owners gave way and submitted. But Wentworth and his royal master, though bent on confiscation and plantation in Connaught, were for the present principally concerned in extorting money, and the land itself to no great extent passed into other hands. The land-owners were allowed to retain their estates by the payment of fines and fixed rents, and in some cases by the surrender of a portion of their lands for the benefit of the established church.

Nor were the extortions of Wentworth confined to Connaught. He compelled the O'Byrnes of Leinster to pay £17,000 to remedy a pretended defect of title, and extorted no less than £70,000 from the London companies that had obtained estates in Ulster. This latter circumstance added in no small degree to the popular clamor which had been raised in England against his pride and tyranny, and it was probably one of the principal causes of his final ruin, for the citizens of London from that time became his deadly enemies and exerted all their influence to procure his destruction. Wentworth's hand was no less heavy on the mushroom nobility of the plantations and the jobbers of



the castle. But a storm was brewing in England and Scotland which was destined to ruin both the lord-deputy and his master.

The fined, pilloried and mutilated Puritans cried aloud for vengeance, and the Scotch, on whom Charles had tried to force a new liturgy, had signed the covenant and were in open rebellion. The revolt of his Scottish subjects compelled Charles to recall the ablest of his ministers from the government of Ireland. The suppressed mutterings of the two islands against the well-hated Wentworth were rising into an overwhelming storm.

The Irish House of Commons, released from his dreaded presence, impeached four of the privy council who were his creatures. The numerous victims of his tyranny in Ireland swarmed over to England to accuse him. All England, Scotland and Ireland watched with deep interest the trial of the man who, in the words of his impeachment by the English Parliament, "had endeavored to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government," and rejoiced when his selfish, thankless master, whom he had devotedly served, as he had himself so often boasted, "at the peril of his own head," signed the bill of attainder and sent him to the scaffold, May 12, 1641.

King Charles was now in the beginning of those troubles with his parliament that afterwards deprived him of crown and life. He knew that the Puritans were his most zealous enemies, and yet at this critical moment he intrusted the government of Ireland to Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase—bitter, cruel and rapacious Puritans who were completely subservient to the English Parliament. Parsons professed the most firm principles of Puritanism and veiled his boundless rapacity under the mask of conventional sanctity. His colleague, Bor-

lase, was a mere soldier, who had received very little education. His understanding was contemptible, his bigotry great, and he had imbibed all the prejudices and ferocity of that fanatical period. Borlase was governed by his wily colleague, and both immediately joined in doing all within their power to oppose the interest and thwart the wishes of the king. The disputes between King Charles and his English and Scotch subjects were daily becoming more alarming, and the Irish exiles in every part of Europe began to contemplate an attempt to recover the property of which they had been deprived.

The Irish of Ulster were especially eager to engage in any enterprise which would afford a reasonable promise of redressing their wrongs. The people of Connaught, threatened with confiscation, already were looking to arms as their best defense. The Catholics, dreading the intolerance of the Puritans, contemplated a struggle that could not be far distant.

From the beginning of the year 1641 it must have been evident to a close observer of the times that some commotion was near at hand, but the lords-justices were blind to approaching danger. They appear to have thought that the Irish, so long accustomed to tyranny and oppression, would not make any vigorous defense of their religion and property, both of which were openly threatened by the government.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### THE INSURRECTION OF 1641.

We are now about to enter on the history of a period whose strange revolutions, extraordinary chances and dire calamities are, perhaps, unequaled in the annals of any other age or nation. The great civil war of 1641 presented the novel spectacle of four armies, animated by mutual jealousy or hatred, wasting the country in desultory warfare, and exhausting themselves by insincere negotiations, until at length that which at first was the weakest triumphed and consigned the others to hopeless ruin. The Celtic Irish, the Catholics of the Pale, and the royalists had common interests and common enemies, yet they could never be induced to form a sincere union, and the parliamentarians in the end conquered all three, though at first inferior in strength and numbers to either separately.

Nearly a generation had passed since the plantation of Ulster, when the troubles in England between Charles and his parliament began. The English middle classes and many of the gentry distrusted his policy in Church and State and feared his leanings toward Rome. His wife was a devout Catholic; his chief adviser in spiritual affairs, Archbishop Laud, was a High Churchman, to whom a Catholic was more acceptable than a Calvinist. By this time a great change had come over the English people.

A sect sprang up which aimed to model the new church on the doctrine and system of Calvin.

From the strictness of their tenets and the severity of their practices they were named, partly in ridicule, the Puritans. The opinions of these men spread rapidly and they soon set up a fierce parliamentary opposition—as often as want of money compelled Charles to summon a parliament.

John Pym, John Hampden and other men of remarkable courage and ability led this party and it soon became plain that the issue would be civil war. The Puritans were contending for civil and religious liberty—a liberty, however, in which those who differed from them should have no share. The plantations in Ulster and the menace of similar spoliation in Connaught completely and justly alienated the minds of the native Irish from the government. They believed that it had been determined to strip them of all their property by a mixture of violence and chicanery, and the conduct of the king and his ministers proved that they were not mistaken. In fact, the royalists and the parliamentarians in England distinctly avowed their fixed resolution to colonize Ireland with “good subjects,” and opposed as they were in everything else, Charles and the Commons showed wonderful unanimity in devising plans for fresh confiscations.

The virulent declarations of the English Parliament against the ancient creed were justly alarming to the Irish Catholics, and the shameful execution, or, rather, judicial murder, of several priests in London showed that the persecutions threatened by the Puritans would not long be confined to pecuniary penalties and disqualifications. “The sin of tolerating popery” was a favorite theme of the clergy of the established and Scottish churches. Similar denunciations had been made even in the Irish Parliament and were only suppressed when the aid of the Catholics was required to complete the ruin of Wentworth.



The character of Parsons was a third cause of the hostility to the government which was generally prevalent among the Irish. The appointment of such a man to the office of lord-justice was felt to be a direct sanction of the principles on which he acted. There was every reason to expect that spoliation, and not protection, would be the chief object of an administration at the head of which was an unprincipled adventurer.

The successful resistance of the Scotch was the occasion of which the Irish lords determined to avail themselves. The attempt of the king to impose his religion and an arbitrary government on his Scottish subjects had been signally defeated. The rebellion of the Scotch had been rewarded by the establishment of the religion of their choice, the securing of constitutional freedom, and the general approbation of the English people. The flame of insurrection easily spread from one country to another. It is no wonder, then, that the Irish, who had suffered under severer wrongs and had far greater grievances to redress, should have resolved to emulate the successful revolt of their brethren in Scotland.

The chief heads of the Irish conspiracy were descendants from those ancient families that had been robbed of their hereditary estates in former reigns. John O'Neill (son of the late Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone), who held an important command in the service of Spain, and Roger Moore, a descendant of the old lords of Leix (Queens County), appear to have been, if not the contrivers of the conspiracy, at least the principal agents in bringing it to maturity.

"Moore," says McCarthy, "was the last of a stately and ruined family, one of whose ancestors had died in the Tower of London under Edward VI. He was a brave and honorable gentleman, whose handsome face and graceful bearing commended him



closely to the men from whom he sought help, whom his eloquence was well calculated to persuade, and his statesmanlike prudence and foresight to encourage. His daring and gallantry endeared him to his followers, who were always ready to fight their best for the war-cry of 'for God, our Lady and Roger Moore.' "

The plan of revolt was sanctioned by Cardinal Richelieu and by several other Catholic potentates, principally through the influence of John O'Neill, and the death of that able young man was the chief cause of the irregularity which soon appeared in the councils of the other conspirators. The lords-justices were warned from England that numbers of Irish officers had quitted the continental armies to return home, that ecclesiastical emissaries were flocking to Ireland, and at the same time information was brought that suspicious assemblages were frequently held at the houses of the Catholic lords.

But Parsons looked forward to a rising as his harvest. He already had gained a large fortune by trading in confiscations, and he trusted that a new insurrection would place at his disposal more estates than even Wentworth had ventured to contemplate. In fact, there was now a great game to be played for the estates of the Irish proprietors. On the 22nd of October, 1641, at a late hour in the evening, Parsons received information from Owen O'Connolly that a conspiracy had been formed for seizing the castle of Dublin and all the strong places in the kingdom on the next day.

Borlase on hearing the account was more alarmed than his colleague and immediately directed the council to be summoned. The delay and indecision of the justices gave the principal leaders time to escape, but two of them, Lord Maguire and Colonel Hugh McMahon, were seized and the government in Dublin effectually put on its guard. But the

North was beyond its control. There the clans that had been despoiled by the government rose October 22 and 23, 1641, 30,000 strong, led by Sir Phelim O'Neill and other chiefs of their own blood, drove out the English and Scotch settlers and re-possessioned themselves of their ancient tribal lands.

The Irish people who had been so cruelly driven from their homes rushed down from the mountains and swept over the new plantations. There was little or no resistance made. The astonished settlers fled everywhere before the original proprietors and the roads leading to Dublin were soon filled with miserable crowds. At first the Irish were contented with merely expelling the intruders, but soon, in some instances, the settlers were injured and, it is said, even put to death.

O'Neill, who headed the rising in Ulster, could not in all cases, even if he were inclined, restrain the excesses of his undisciplined followers, but he seems not to have made much effort. The English and Scotch settlers retorted, and whenever they had an opportunity massacred the Irish without mercy or distinction of age or sex. The great majority of the Irish gentry invariably made every exertion to restrain the ferocity of their followers, but the officers of the government, both by precept and example, encouraged cruelty and extermination. In County Cavan little or no blood was shed. This was partly owing to the exertions of Philip O'Reilly, the head of his illustrious family, and partly to the respect that the Irish had for the character of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore.

Dr. Bedell was one of the very few prelates of the established church who had distinguished himself by humane conduct in his day of power. The simplicity of his character, his affectionate manners and his many virtues attached to him the hearts of all classes, and the Catholic lords and clergy re-

garded him with esteem and admiration. His house was a place of refuge for all the settlers who had been driven from lands in the neighborhood, and there they long continued unmolested, protected by the general respect felt for the bishop. He was subsequently removed to the quarters of the Irish army, but continued to be treated as a companion rather than as a prisoner.

So convinced was this good man of the justice of the Irish cause that he drew up the remonstrance which they transmitted to the castle in justification of their having taken up arms. During his illness he was attended with the greatest care and his dying moments were soothed by every attention that ardent attachment could dictate. He was interred with military honors by the Irish soldiers, and when the grave closed over him all joined in the simple prayer, "Requiescat in pace, ultimus Anglorum"—May the last Englishman rest in peace.

The lords-justices in the meantime took great precautions to insure their personal safety and then directed their attention not to the suppression of the insurrection, but to the discovery of means by which they could prolong the struggle and derive advantages from its continuance. Their great object was by some means to bring in the Catholic lords of the Pale as participants, for their great estates had, for the most part, remained untouched in former struggles, and were, from their vicinity to the capital, particularly desirable to the creatures of the government. The lords-justices issued a proclamation declaring that the Irish papists had formed a dangerous conspiracy against the state.

The lords of the Pale were justly alarmed at the sweeping generality of the phrase "Irish papists." They remonstrated and the justices were obliged to publish a second proclamation, exonerating the Catholic lords of English descent. At the

same time they transmitted to the king and to the English Parliament an account of the insurrection that had taken place. Charles at once saw the dangers to which he was exposed by the Irish revolt, in causing which his own perfidious conduct respecting the "graces" had so large a share. He felt, perhaps, convinced that the Irish were more "sinned against than sinning."

But the time when he could have done justice was passed. Avarice and prejudice both stimulated the parliament of England and Scotland "to seize on Irish property and destroy Irish popery." The king was forced to go with the current and to issue a proclamation denouncing the Irish insurgents as "rebels." The men of property in Ulster were anxious to avoid the hazards of war, and were also shocked at the cruelties which began to be committed by infuriate leaders on both sides. They made offers of accommodation to the government, remarkable for moderation and equity.

The O'Farrells of Longford, who had suffered severely at the time of the Ulster plantation, after having, without violence, seized the forts and castles in their country, sent a remonstrance to be presented to the king and his ministers by Lord Dillon. Their petition began by setting forth an oath of allegiance that they had taken and which they professed themselves willing to seal with their blood. They complained of persecution on account of their religion by the delay of the "graces" and their being treated as aliens in their native land. They petitioned for a general amnesty for all offenses except murder, for the repeal of the penal laws, and for a general charter of freedom to all Irish subjects.

There were many both in England and Ireland anxious to restore tranquillity on these conditions, and the king's friends especially, foreseeing the



struggle between him and his parliament, were eager to terminate transactions which in every way threatened his ruin.

The English Parliament had at once undertaken the management of the Irish war, and ignoring the royal prerogative had begun to levy an army and to provide munitions of war. The leaders of the popular party in the English Parliament, while they affected the most ardent zeal for the cause of the Irish Protestants and sent them the most magnificent promises of assistance, kept the supplies that they had collected and the army that they had assembled, to overawe King Charles. It was then, and long after, the fashion in England to look upon the Irish with contempt. It was supposed that an Irish insurrection could be suppressed at any time by a vigorous effort.

While, therefore, the English Parliament promised speedy exertion, the leaders were determined to secure England first and leave Ireland for a more convenient season. The conduct of the lords-justices fully justified the suspicions with which they were viewed by the Irish lords. So far from exerting themselves to check the progress of revolt, they used all their influence to discourage the efforts of others.

James Butler, earl, later marquis, and in the end Duke of Ormond, who was a churchman zealously devoted to the king, and some other lords offered to join the forces of the government with their adherents and march directly against the insurgents to crush, if possible, their undisciplined forces, but these offers were peremptorily rejected. The military operations were confined to sending out Sir Charles Coote, noted for his cruelty, to lay waste the country, and he, with little scruple, massacred indiscriminately those who were in revolt and those who were not, a system which, as had proba-



bly been foreseen, rendered the spirit of revolt more general and more inveterate.

The designs of Parsons were more signally displayed in another instance. Both the king and the English Parliament had directed that a proclamation should be issued offering pardon to all who would return to their allegiance. After a long delay the lords-justices issued such a proclamation, but clogged with so many exceptions that it was wholly useless. The time for receiving submissions was limited to ten days, and it declared that the amnesty would be invalid unless a complete restitution of property was effected within that period—a condition, however, which could not be fulfilled.

The hopes of the nation were now fixed on the meeting of parliament, which had been adjourned to November. The session lasted two days, during which a protest was passed against those who had taken up arms, but not without considerable opposition, a large minority refusing to stigmatize the insurgents as "rebels," preferring the milder phrase "discontented gentlemen," but the influence of the government secured the insertion of the harsher epithet.

The justices, however, were unable to prevent the appointment of a committee of both houses to confer with the leaders of the insurgents and to lay their complaints and grievances before the king and council. Alarmed at this appearance of concession, the justices, in spite of every remonstrance, adjourned the parliament. The king's friends and the moderate party did not yet despair. They made two efforts to avert the horrors of a general war, and in both cases were unsuccessful.

The deputation sent to the leaders of the insurgents was received with every demonstration of respect, but when the order of the two houses was produced, in which these chiefs were stigmatized as

"traitors," Roger Moore seized the insulting document, tore it to pieces, and promptly declined any further conference. In the meantime a great number of members of the Irish Parliament met privately in Dublin and deputed two of their members, Lords Dillon and Taaffe, to go over to England and represent to the king the real condition of the country, the conduct of the lords-justices, and the beneficial consequences that would result from transferring their power to the Earl of Ormond, "or any other nobleman of approved loyalty and integrity."

This measure was also defeated by the contrivance of Parsons. He sent a private message to the leaders of the English House of Commons desiring that no attention be paid to the representations of Lord Dillon and declaring that his schemes would prevent the perfect establishment of English ascendancy in Ireland. Lords Dillon and Taaffe were arrested near London by order of the House of Commons, and were not liberated until all negotiation was fruitless.

From October until the middle of December the insurrection had been confined to Ulster, a small part of Leinster, and one county in Connaught. The Catholic lords of the Pale persevered in their allegiance and offered their assistance to the government. Some had even distinguished themselves against the Northerners in the field, especially Sir Robert Talbot, whose castle was destroyed in revenge by the insurgents.

The lords-justices at the first rising, deeming the aid of these Catholic lords necessary to their own security, had supplied them with arms to defend themselves against the Northern Irish, but being now encouraged by promises of large armaments from England they recalled the arms which they had granted and issued a proclamation ordering those who had fled to Dublin for protection to

quit the city within twenty-four hours under pain of death.

Exposed thus to the vengeance of the insurgents on one hand and to the persecution of the government on the other, these men long struggled to preserve their allegiance, but at length they received certain intelligence that the English Parliament and Irish government had determined on their ruin and they saw that their only hope was in arms. In fact, on the 8th of December, 1641, it was resolved in solemn debate by both houses of parliament in England "that they would not consent to the toleration of popery in Ireland or any of his majesty's dominions," a resolution that was regarded by many as practically a declaration of a war of extermination against the great majority of landed proprietors in Ireland and almost the entire common people.

Under these circumstances Lord Gormanstown and several others proposed a conference with Moore, and the war, which hitherto had been confined to the Northern province, became general throughout the entire country.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### THE CONFEDERATE WAR—ARRIVAL OF OWEN ROE O'NEILL.

The Catholic lords of the Pale, driven to revolt by compulsion which could not be resisted, proceeded with the deliberate caution of men well aware of the danger they were about to encounter and the hazardous game they had to play. In December, 1641, they held a conference with Roger Moore and other Irish leaders on the hill of Crofty, in Meath, and demanded of him for what purpose he had taken up arms. Moore replied: "To maintain the royal prerogative and liberty of conscience and make the subjects of Ireland as free as those of England."

Lord Gormanstown then said: "Seeing these be your true ends we will likewise join with you." The other lords of the Pale then promised to assist him with all their might, and then separated to raise their respective friends and adherents.

The lords-justices not yet having received the expected supplies from England, were alarmed at the premature success of their own schemes. They sent letters to the lords of the Pale requiring them to come with all possible speed to Dublin, assuring them that they were wanted to confer on the state of the nation. The lords excused themselves by referring to the speeches of Sir Charles Coote, the military governor of Dublin, and to his wholesale massacres in his several raids, declaring that they would not peril their lives by coming within his malign influence.

They next prepared a loyal address to King Charles, drawn up in a conciliatory, moderate tone, in which they complained of the injurious treatment they had received from the lords-justices, whom they justly called enemies to the king as well as to themselves.

A proclamation worded in the same spirit of moderation and loyalty to the king was extensively circulated throughout the island and produced a powerful effect. The lords of the Pale who had not joined in the conference were now induced to join the alliance. Every county in Leinster rose and the authority of the lords-justices in that province was soon confined to Dublin and Drogheda, which latter place was closely besieged by Sir Phelim O'Neill.

In Connaught, County Galway was for some time preserved to the government by the exertions and influence of Ulick Burke, Earl of Clanricard, a Catholic nobleman who was strongly attached to the king and the English interest.

In Munster the lords-justices had a powerful assistant in Sir W. St. Leger, the president of that province, whose cruelties rivaled those of Sir Charles Coote. The gentry of the county had remonstrated against his excesses, but he dismissed them with insults and threats of violence. Alarmed at this treatment they had applied to the lords-justices in Dublin for permission to take proper measures for securing the public peace. Lord Muskerry offered to raise a thousand men in support of the government at his own expense and to mortgage his estate in order to supply them with arms. A similar tender of service was made by Richard Butler, Lord Mountgarret, the head of the Catholic Butlers, and son-in-law of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, who had died at Rome. Both these noblemen having received a positive refusal, waited until the middle



of December before taking a decided course, and then, having good reason to believe that arms were necessary for their safety, they determined to join the patriotic cause.

With Lord Mountgarret rose every branch of the house of Butler, except James Butler, Earl of Ormond, who had been brought up in England in the Protestant faith. The first movements of the Munster leaders were executed with equal promptness and success. Cashel, Clonmel, Carrick and Dungarven were quickly taken, almost without resistance. County Kilkenny and the city of Waterford were easily secured by Lord Mountgarret.

Henry O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, staid by the government, but his followers and relatives set his authority at defiance and added County Clare to the confederate cause; and finally Connaught, abandoning the traditional leadership of the Earl of Clanricard, joined the popular call under the leadership of Miles Burke, Viscount Mayo. In all these proceedings the lives and personal effects of the dispossessed Protestants were carefully protected by the Catholic nobility.

In those parts of the three provinces which thus finally joined the confederates, where the remnants of the old evicted Irish clans were waiting for revenge upon the planters, a few isolated acts of cruelty are recorded: these, the work of a few ungovernable natives, were promptly checked by the leaders of the revolt, who did their utmost to convey the expelled people to places of safety.

The lords-justices having received some reinforcements from England were now encouraged to pursue openly the scheme of confiscation which they had long meditated. Finding the number of prisoners brought in by the leaders of their raiding parties an incumbrance, they issued a commission for trying them by martial law, pretending that they

could not find suitable juries. So aggressive were the government officials in hunting for forfeitures, that in two days satisfactory evidence for high treason was found against all the Catholic nobility and gentry in the counties of Meath, Dublin, Wicklow and Kildare.

"No less than 4,000 indictments," we are told, "were laid in three days in the most business-like fashion, and the rack was freely used to extract satisfactory evidence from the witnesses."

To implicate the king in the alleged guilt of the Irish revolt was a favorite object with the English Parliament and its creatures, the lords-justices; for this end they vigorously exerted themselves to discover some plausible pretense. Hugh McMahon, who had been seized at the time of the recent attempt to capture Dublin; Sir John Reid, who had voluntarily come to the quarters of the Earl of Ormond as bearer of the address of the confederates to the king, and Patrick Barnewall, an old and respectable gentleman who had attended the meeting on the hill of Crofty, but had taken no part in the revolt, were subjected to the tortures of the rack in the hope of implicating the king, but nothing of importance was elicited.

The barbarous manner in which these governors carried on the war may be learned from their instructions to the Earl of Ormond, the commander-in-chief of the royal army, who was directed by them not only to kill and destroy "rebels" and their followers and relatives, but also to burn, waste and demolish all the places, towns and houses where they had been relieved and harbored, with all the corn and hay, and also to kill and destroy in the revolted districts all the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms.

The lords of the Pale, after their first vigorous efforts, became alarmed at the results of their own

success: they were afraid of their allies, the old Irish, fearing that their influence would be destroyed by the overbalance which the native interest would obtain.

The Earl of Ormond, availing himself of this indecision, obtained many advantages over the confederates in several engagements. The latter appear to have simply desired to maintain such a warlike attitude as to insure to them satisfactory conditions of peace; and they hoped that the king himself would soon come over to undertake the management of the war. They believed that they could then prove to him their innocence of rebellion against his authority.

King Charles, sensible of the injury he sustained in England and Scotland from the report of his secret partiality to the Irish Catholics, accordingly issued proclamations denouncing them as "rebels and traitors," and even expressed his anxiety to prove his sincerity by leading an army against them in person. But the king's double-dealing and duplicity were too well known for either party to give much credit to his professions or proclamations.

The lords of the Pale were persuaded or convinced of his secret attachment to their cause: the leaders in the English House of Commons believed that the proposed expedition to Ireland was only a pretext for removing where he would be free from the control of parliament, and peremptorily refused their consent. Lord Gormanstown, the confederate leader in Leinster, seeing the last hope of a peaceful settlement of the island thus destroyed, died, it is said, of a broken heart, leaving his command in the hands of Lord Mountgarret.

The latter led his army into County Kildare, where the Earl of Ormond was engaged in relieving castles blockaded by the confederates. A battle was

fought between them at the hamlet of Kilrush, about twenty miles from Dublin, in which the discipline of 4,000 royalists enabled them to triumph over 8,000 of their opponents. The confederates were totally defeated, leaving 700 men dead on the field, but Ormond, being short of ammunition and provisions, did not follow the routed army, but returned in triumph to Dublin.

For some months the war languished on both sides. The confederates were disheartened, disorganized, disunited and unprepared for war, and they had no leaders possessing military skill or experience. The royalists were in little better condition; their soldiers were mutinous for want of pay, their provisions were well-nigh exhausted, and the supplies they received from England were scanty in the extreme.

Despite all their boasted zeal for the relief of the Protestants in Ireland, the English Commons made little exertion for them. But in another way they showed characteristic attention to Irish affairs: they passed an act for the sale of 2,500,000 acres belonging to those whom they termed "Irish rebels," and they introduced several clauses by which the king was prevented from entering into any terms of accommodation with his Irish Catholic subjects.

In this plan of reducing the nation to desperation or despair the lords-justices eagerly joined. They severely censured the Earl of Clanricard for having entered into terms with the confederates of Galway, and strictly commanded all their officers to hold no correspondence with nor grant protection to Irish or Catholics. These measures were approved by a parliament which sat in Dublin. By excluding all who had joined the confederates and all who refused to take the oath of supremacy the number of members was so reduced that the creatures of



government had a large majority. The principal business done in this session was the passing of new penal laws, the denouncing of the ancient faith in unmeasured terms, and the preparation of an address to the English Parliament for new and more stringent laws against Catholics. Having thus performed its part in exasperating the confederates and making the return of peace hopeless, the parliament was adjourned.

Like their masters in England, the lords-justices almost wholly neglected the war. St. Leger, in Munster, was so disheartened by the vexations which he suffered for the loss of Limerick and want of aid that he died of mortification and grief, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin. The confederates, unable to avail themselves of the inaction of their enemies, were so disorganized by repeated reverses and by the arrival of a large body of troops sent to Ulster by the Scottish Parliament, that they seriously contemplated giving up the struggle to become voluntary exiles.

The arrival in Donegal Bay, July, 1642, of Colonel Owen Roe O'Neill, who had acquired a high character in the Spanish service, revived the hopes of his countrymen. He was a nephew of the late Hugh O'Neill, the great Earl of Tyrone, and had served with distinction on the continent. He was a leader whose noble qualities would have done honor to any cause; a skillful, bold, yet cautious soldier: mild, generous and humane, he was respected even by his enemies. He brought with him a hundred Irish officers who had received a military education in continental warfare.

On his arrival he was unanimously chosen by the Northern chiefs to supersede his kinsman, Sir Phelim O'Neill, in the supreme command in Ulster. He denounced in the strongest terms the excesses which had been committed by the Irish under his



predecessor and declared that if any unnecessary cruelties were again perpetrated by them he would leave the country. The effect of his presence was magical; the desponding Irish recovered heart. At this time the Earl of Leven arrived in Ulster with reinforcements to the Scotch royalists there, but though his army appeared sufficient to crush the raw troops of O'Neill, Leven made no warlike effort.

He, however, wrote a letter to the Irish general expressing his surprise that a man of his reputation had come to Ireland to maintain so bad a cause as that of the confederates. O'Neill replied that he could furnish better reasons for coming to the relief of his country than the earl for marching into England against his king. After receiving this reply Leven retired to Scotland, assuring Robert Monroe, to whom he resigned his command, that when O'Neill had collected his forces he would give him a severe lesson. This termination of an expedition from which so much had been expected greatly encouraged O'Neill's men.

The Northern Irish hastened to array themselves under the banner of O'Neill, while Monroe confined himself to his quarters, and his army, neglected by parliament, had to struggle against nakedness and famine. About the same time of the coming of O'Neill the Southern Irish were strengthened by the arrival at Waterford of Colonel Thomas Preston, brother of the late Lord Gormanstown. He landed with a quantity of arms and ammunition and accompanied by 500 exiled Irish officers, who had acquired experience and skill in foreign service.

The confederates now determined to organize a civil government. For this purpose a provincial synod was held by them at Armagh: they began by sanctioning the war which had been undertaken for the defense of their religion and the preservation of

the rights and liberties of Irishmen as just and necessary. They declared that no order of the king, whom they justly regarded as an unwilling instrument in the hands of their enemies, should be obeyed until they had sufficient reasons to know his real intentions.

They directed that an oath of association should be taken by all the members of the confederacy, and that no distinction should be made between the old and new Irish, or Celtic and Anglo-Irish. They denounced the heaviest censures of the church on those who remained neutral in the contest, and prohibited under pain of excommunication any injury to Protestants who were not enemies to their cause. They directed that exact registers should be kept of all murders and unnecessary cruelties committed by their enemies in the several provinces, but they prohibited retaliation under the severest penalties. They ordained that provincial assemblies, composed of the laity and clergy, should be formed for local government, but that the chief authority should remain with a national council, to which the others should be subordinate.

Soon after, in October, 1642, a general or national assembly from all the provinces met at Kilkenny. It consisted largely of the Anglo-Irish nobility and was conducted with all the form and order of a regular parliament. Having first professed their allegiance to the king, they renounced the authority of the government administered in Dublin and declared that they would maintain the rights and privileges of the Catholic Church as established by the great charter, and they professed to accept the laws of England and Ireland, so far as they were not contrary to their religion or the national liberties.

They organized provincial councils, but allowed an appeal from their decisions to the Supreme Coun-

cil of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland. Lord Mountgarret was elected president of this council and Sir Richard Belling appointed secretary. For the conduct of the war they appointed four generals, one to lead the forces of each province—Owen Roe O'Neill in Ulster, Thomas Preston in Leinster, Gerald Barry in Munster, and John Burke in Connaught. All of these were officers of experience and merit, who had left their commands in the armies of the continent to offer their services to their country.

Burke bore only the title of lieutenant-general, for the confederates designed the chief command in Connaught for the Earl of Clanricard, in the hope that that nobleman would be induced to join the alliance, but he continued steadily to refuse. Though disappointed by Clanricard, the confederates obtained a valuable assistant in James Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven, an Englishman, who possessed large estates both in England and Ireland.

Castlehaven had been refused by the lords-justices a passport to return to England, and instead they flung him into prison, where he remained five months, when he managed to make his escape. He then fled to Kilkenny and was received with open arms by the confederates, who, delighted by the accession of an English peer, appointed him to command the Leinster cavalry, under Preston.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### THE CONFEDERATE WAR—CONTINUED.

“So many reinforcements had successively poured into Ireland both from Scotland and England that the army which opposed the confederates was finally raised to 50,000 men, but these were gradually reduced in number by want, desertion and the casualties of war. They won several battles, burned and demolished many towns and villages, but the evils of their excesses recoiled upon themselves and they began to experience the horrors of famine in the midst of the desert which they had made.”

In October, 1642, the Civil War broke out in England between King Charles and his parliament, and the latter immediately sent over agents to engage the army in Ireland on its side. These attempts were encouraged by Parsons, who received the parliamentary emissaries with open arms. The Earl of Ormond, on the other hand, diligently labored to keep the soldiers in their allegiance to the king, and for the most part he succeeded.

James Butler, earl, afterwards marquis, and in the end Duke of Ormond, was the head of the great Norman-Irish house of Butler. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, but cold, selfish and of doubtful faith. He had been educated in England and converted to the new religion and regarded the faith he had abandoned with hatred and contempt.

The Ormonds for centuries had been politic courtiers, Englishmen in Ireland rather than Irish-

men, and James Butler, "the Great Duke," as he is sometimes called, was the supreme type of his race. The affairs of the confederates were now prospering. There was at the close of 1642 and the opening of the next year a good deal of irregular fighting, with considerable loss of life, without decided advantage on either side, but during the summer of 1643 success was decidedly inclining towards the Irish.

In May O'Neill obtained a victory over Monroe at Charlemont, in Ulster, and soon after at Clones he carried off his men with credit from a superior cavalry force of Sir Robert Stewart. Descending from the hills he next invaded Meath, slew Lord Moore and drove General Monk and his shattered army back into Dublin; Barry defeated the enemy at Kilworth, in Cork, and drove Lord Inchiquin into Youghal; all Connaught was in the hands of Burke; and though Preston, in March, after several successes in Leinster, suffered a defeat at Ross, yet Ormond, who opposed him, could not boast of any great advantage.

King Charles, now no longer under the necessity or pressure for his own safety of dissembling with his parliament, issued commissions to Ormond, Clanricard and other leaders in Ireland devoted to his interests, empowering them to treat with the confederates. He created Ormond a marquis, removed Parsons from office and appointed Sir Henry Tichborne to take his place as a colleague of Borlase. The field being now open for negotiation with the confederates, a meeting was held between their commissioners and Ormond and a cessation of hostilities for one year was finally agreed upon, September 15, 1643, each party consenting to occupy the same position it then held, and the confederates undertaking to give £30,000 to the king, and also provide troops for his service in Scotland. The



cessation was afterwards renewed from time to time on various pretexts till the spring of 1646.

The Catholic clergy and the old Irish were dissatisfied with the truce, which had checked their recent successes and weakened their strength by the loss of the men and money sent to aid the king. The parliamentarians declared that this alliance with "murderous papists," as they called the confederates, was a "crying sin," and sent orders to their generals in Ireland to disregard the truce. The news of the truce with the Irish confederates was received with great indignation. The English people, who had been terribly excited by the wild reports of the "Ulster massacre," loudly demanded revenge. Still stronger grew their anger when 2,000 men from Ormond's forces were landed in North Wales and 3,000 well provided troops from the Irish confederate army passed over into Scotland to aid the king.

The very fact of Charles' overtures to the Irish so disgusted his English friends that many of them left his service and went over to the parliament. The good fortune that hitherto had attended the king in the Civil War in England had now begun to desert him, and consequently he began to look more and more to his Irish subjects to crush his rebellious English subjects and became more and more anxious to patch up a peace with the Irish confederates on any terms.

Accordingly in January, 1644, Charles appointed Ormond Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with full power to offer the confederates the most advantageous terms. The principal demands of the latter were an independent Irish parliament, the free exercise of their religion, and a general pardon for all who had engaged in the war, except those who had been guilty of breaches of quarter and acts of inhumanity. On the granting of these terms the confeder-

ates engaged to support the king with their lives and fortunes and to contribute 10,000 men immediately for his assistance in England.

Some months were fruitlessly occupied with delegations from the confederates to the king and also from the Protestant faction in Dublin. Charles, who never meant to keep inconvenient promises, was perfectly ready to concede everything in return for the reinforcements and simply instructed Ormond to make the best bargain he could. Ormond, however, pretended to believe that concessions satisfactory to the confederates would not only drive every Protestant in Ireland into the arms of the king's enemies, but would make it next to impossible for Charles to come to terms with the English Parliament, with which he was at that time negotiating.

The politic lord-lieutenant accordingly concealed the extent of his instructions and would only promise the confederates that the penal laws should not be put in force and that the king would grant a fresh variety of "graces." For months the negotiations dragged along. Ormond probably desired the failure of the confederacy more than the success of the royal cause, and the advancement of his own personal interests above all.

The Irish, who were fully aware of the king's needs, and expecting help from France, Spain and Rome, were in no hurry to conclude such an unsatisfactory treaty. In the midst of the negotiations an unexpected revolution took place in the South. The Earl of Inchiquin, having been refused the office of Lord-President of Munster by the king, declared for the parliament and made himself master of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale, from which he drove all the Catholic inhabitants.

His example was followed by Lord Esmond, who betrayed to the parliamentary forces the fort of

Duncannon, which commanded Waterford harbor. When the news of this revolution reached the council at Kilkenny, it directed Lord Castlehaven (Barry having retired on account of old age) to march against Inchiquin, while Preston was sent to besiege Duncannon, which was forced to surrender after a short but vigorous siege; and Castlehaven, having defeated the enemy in the field, proceeded to reduce the different castles along the rivers Lee and Blackwater which had fallen into the hands of Inchiquin. He captured several places of importance, took a great number of prisoners, and finally advancing to the coast, laid siege to Youghal, though the town was well garrisoned and further protected by two frigates which lay in the harbor.

The siege was finally raised by the arrival of Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, with reinforcements. The winter soon after set in and military operations were laid aside to resume the long pending negotiations. Ormond was resolved not to grant the terms demanded by the confederates, and they refused to recede from a single claim. He tried in vain to persuade them that it was expedient to assist the king as soon as possible.

They replied that they would not weaken themselves until the signature of the treaty had secured their future safety. During this delay, in October, 1645, Rinucini, Archbishop of Fermo, arrived in Ireland as nuncio from the Pope, and showed himself as hostile to any peace which did not secure the public establishment of the ancient religion in Ireland as the Puritans were to terms that granted simple toleration.

The efforts of Charles to secure the aid of the confederates without alarming the prejudices of his Protestant subjects led him into a series of extraordinary intrigues, the premature discovery of which, despite his resources in duplicity, covered him with

confusion and deserved contempt. Tired of Ormond's endless delays, harassed by the increasing difficulties of his affairs, and anxiously hoping that the promised aid from Ireland would retrieve his losses, the king determined to employ another negotiator. This envoy was Edward Somerset, Earl of Glamorgan, one of the few Catholics remaining among the English nobility.

He was the son-in-law of the Earl of Thomond and devotedly attached to the royal cause. He found the confederates inclined to insist on more favorable terms than they had previously demanded, in consequence of Castlehaven's recent successes, but he had influence enough to prevail upon them to make both a public and a private treaty, the former upon the basis of Ormond's propositions; the latter, Glamorgan declared, contained terms too favorable to the Catholics to be published at a time when the rage against the ancient creed in England and Scotland was little short of a national insanity.

The nuncio objected to the treaties as not sufficiently securing the establishment of the ancient religion, but at first he found few supporters except among the clergy. Meanwhile the warlike Archbishop of Tuam was defeated in an engagement at Sligo, his baggage captured, and a copy of Glamorgan's secret treaty found among his papers. This document was immediately sent to the English Parliament, by which it was at once printed and extensively circulated throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

The king promptly denied having given Glamorgan any authority to conclude such a treaty and declared to the English Parliament that the only purpose for which Glamorgan had been sent to Ireland was to raise forces for his majesty's service. This Charles contradicted in a letter to the Dublin officials, and in a private letter to Ormond he de-



clared "on the word of a Christian I never intended Glamorgan should treat of anything without your approbation, much less your knowledge."

Ormond, pretending to believe that Glamorgan had exceeded his powers, caused him to be arrested on a charge of high treason. Glamorgan, in his defense, declared that what he did was not binding on the king, but that he had acted out of excess of zeal in his majesty's service. Charles sent a letter to Dublin requesting that Glamorgan should be detained a prisoner, but at the same time he wrote privately to Ormond to suspend the execution of any sentence against him.

The English earl was soon after released on the joint bail of the Earls of Clanricard and Kildare. Notwithstanding all this wearisome intrigue, Ormond had long before received instructions from the king to conclude a peace with the confederates on terms nearly or fully as favorable to the Catholics as those granted by Glamorgan. The refusal of Ormond to recognize the secret treaty of Glamorgan destroyed what little harmony remained in the councils of the confederates.

The Anglo-Irish lords, who had been driven to revolt by irresistible compulsion, were extremely anxious to conclude the war. The old Irish were suspicious of Ormond and indignant that scant care had been taken of their special interests in either of the treaties. The nuncio and most of the clergy declared that no terms should be accepted which did not include the ecclesiastical articles in Glamorgan's secret treaty.

There were and always had been two parties among the confederates, corresponding closely to the two separate races of which they were composed—the radical party, made up mainly of the old Irish and the clergy, which aimed at national independence, and a conservative party, consisting, for the



most part, of Anglo-Irish peers and gentry who were anxious to be reconciled to the king, provided they could secure sufficient guarantees for civil and religious liberty.

The lay element in the council already had shown considerable jealousy of the clerical influence, and when the nuncio had raised up a violent opposition to the peace the confederates became split into the party of the Nuncio and the party of Ormond. In the meantime the king's affairs had become desperate, and Ormond, at length awakened to the dangers of further delay, when it was too late, consented to a modification of Glamorgan's original propositions and signed with the confederates the long delayed treaty, March 28, 1646, despite the fierce opposition of the nuncio and his party in the Confederate Council.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### THE BATTLE OF BENBURB.

In the spring of 1646, after experiencing more than four years of desolating civil war, Ireland was truly in a deplorable condition. While the confederates were distracted and weakened by intrigues and divided councils and their armies well-nigh paralyzed by the jealousies of their commanders, Monroe plundered Ulster in comparative safety, while Coote "the Cruel" raided the Western province, so that even the Earl of Clanricard was finally forced to take the field in his own defense. In Munster, since the recent defection of the Earl of Thomond, who had surrendered to the enemy his noble old castle of Bunratty, commanding the Shannon, nearly all the South except Limerick fell into the hands of the sanguinary Inchiquin.

Bunratty, however, was soon recovered by Lord Muskerry after a short siege; Preston was sent to Connaught to operate with Clanricard against Coote, and Castlehaven, with Piers FitzGerald, his second in command, at length drove Inchiquin into his garrison. Though the Puritan generals—Inchiquin, Coote and Monroe—treated the cessation and treaty with contempt, yet being feebly supported by the English Parliament they were forced to remain, for the most part, inactive, and consequently did not derive much profit from the dissensions of the confederates, many of whom were furious at the treaty, which they considered did not sufficiently guarantee religious liberty nor provide for an independent

Irish parliament. The men of Ulster were dissatisfied with the treaty on account of its failure to restore to them their ancient lands.

Owen Roe O'Neill, the only really capable general of the confederates, had not been altogether idle during these years of intrigue and negotiation, but employed in recruiting and training his forces and making such careful preparations as would insure his success. In the beginning of June, 1646, having completed his preparations for a decisive campaign, he advanced towards Armagh to bring Monroe to battle.

On the 4th of June the Irish general, at the head of 5,000 foot and 500 horse, encamped at Benburb, on the River Blackwater, about six miles from Armagh. To this same place Robert Monroe, who was in the vicinity, directed his march on the following morning. The position of O'Neill was well chosen. He lay between two hills, his rear covered by a wood, his right wing resting on the Blackwater, his left protected by a wet bog, and his sharpshooters concealed by "crops and bushes" which covered the rough, broken ground in his front. He was also in possession of a bridge which crossed the stream.

All preparations completed, the Irish officers and soldiers the morning of the 5th solemnly devoted themselves to prayer and devout exercises, and aroused to the highest pitch of resolute enthusiasm calmly awaited the advance of the enemy. O'Neill had drawn out his cavalry upon one of the hills by which his position was flanked when he saw on the other side of the river the forces of Monroe, about 8,000 strong, marching towards him.

Monroe's army consisted of Scots from the lowlands, with Anglo-Irish auxiliaries and some English regiments. As the Blackwater was considered difficult to cross, O'Neill did not expect an imme-

diate attack, but, contrary to his expectations, the enemy contrived to ford the river about 2 p. m. at Battle Bridge, near Caledon, and was soon approaching rapidly in his front. To check this advance O'Neill sent some troops to occupy a pass on the way.

A murderous fire from Monroe's artillery dislodged them and they fell back slowly, but in good order. The pass being cleared, a simultaneous movement of the whole attacking army was made to dislodge O'Neill, but it was arrested by a deadly shower of bullets from the Irish sharpshooters behind the bushes. Monroe immediately opened a brisk cannonade, which O'Neill's excellent position rendered well-nigh harmless.

Repeated charges of cavalry against the Irish lines were made with little success. The enemy could not maneuver or take a circuit, being cooped up by the river on the right and the bog on the left. The sun shone full in the face of the Irish and the wind blew in the same direction. When they were not dazzled with excessive light they were blinded with thick rolling smoke of artillery and musketry. Under these disadvantages the Irish army sustained the enemy's fire for four hours, during which time it repelled incessant attacks of cavalry, made with an admirable dash and spirit.

O'Neill knew that towards evening the sun would be at his back, and as it sank towards the forest at his rear present a great disadvantage to his enemies by casting its glare upon their faces. Resolved to imperil nothing by haste, he commanded his men simply to hold their ground and wait till the welcome evening. The Scotch general was for some time merely exasperated with O'Neill's cool reserve and subtle tactics, which he could not attribute to timidity, for he knew his man.

About 6 p. m. a blaze of level light from the

western skies helped Monroe to pierce his adversary's meaning, and a sudden shout from the Irish army and the movement of its entire line, horse and foot, rendered O'Neill's tactics fully intelligible. Monroe now sent forward a few squadrons to arrest the advance, but these were so well received that they quickly retreated and were pursued by the Irish horse with great slaughter.

Monroe was obliged to call on his reserve squadrons, whose repeated charges, though furious and energetic, were foiled again and again. At length O'Neill, who judged those squadrons were sufficiently exhausted, sent a detachment of cavalry to finish them. When this order was satisfactorily executed he once more moved forward his whole line of battle. To render this charge decisive O'Neill commanded his men to reserve their fire until they should be within a pike's length of the enemy.

It was now Monroe's turn to stand on the defensive and await the Irish onset. Under this impetuous and sudden attack his men, undaunted but confounded, and dazzled by a nearly horizontal sun, made a gallant though vain attempt to retrieve the fortunes of the day. The struggle was now hand to hand, sword crossing sword and pike thrusting against pike. For some time the battle raged with incredible fury and pertinacity. At length the left wing of the Irish army, consisting chiefly of fresh troops, began to waver. O'Neill ordered up some veteran troops to its support, and at the same time Monroe threw upon it an immense body of dragoons. The Irish commander now ordered a part of his reserve cavalry to support his threatened left. These veteran troops arrived in time to save it from being cut to pieces, and quickly routing the hostile cavalry they drove them back shattered against their own lines.



The main body of O'Neill's horse had been instructed to pour down on the enemy's left when the movement on his right was seen to be successful, and now they were in full charge. The struggle at the center was kept in suspense for a time by fiery valor on both sides, but the confusion of his wings at length reached Monroe, when the Irish, by one desperate shock, overwhelmed his center, which crowned the fortune of the day, and the flight of the enemy became general.

Among the most desperate instances of protracted resistance was that of the gallant Lord Blaney, who, pike in hand, fought at the head of his English regiment until he and most of his brave men left their dead bodies on the field. Monroe's men were driven across the Blackwater, in which a multitude perished. The Scottish general left hat, coat, wig and sword behind him and fled in a panic to Lisburn. The fleetness of his horse alone saved his life.

He left 3,243 men dead on the field of battle, and in the pursuit of the enemy the two following days he lost almost the entire remnant of his army. His guns, tents, baggage, provisions, 1,500 draft horses, and thirty-two standards fell into the hands of the conquerors. Twenty-two officers and 150 men were made prisoners.

Of the Irish troops only seventy were killed and 200 wounded.

The news reached Limerick June 13, and the following Sunday the captured standards were carried in grand procession to the cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was chanted in the presence of the Supreme Council and all the civic authorities in honor of the great victory. While preparing to improve his success and completely expel the enemy from Ulster, O'Neill received a letter from the nuncio requiring him to march into Leinster to aid him in

opposing the late treaty, which the latter had not only denied but had prevailed upon a large body of the clergy to join him in excommunicating the commissioners by whom it had been signed and all who ventured to recognize it.

Preston, who commanded the Leinster division of the confederate army, held aloof, undecided which side to take, while O'Neill, with 10,000 victorious troops, hurried South to support the nuncio and his party. The council at Kilkenny was in helpless amazement at the turn events were taking. Lords Mountgarret and Muskerry sent to Ormond for aid. The latter arrived with 2,000 men, but he was forced to retreat to Dublin on the approach of O'Neill from the North.

The nuncio in September, supported by O'Neill, made a public entry into Kilkenny. He flung the obnoxious members of the Supreme Council into prison, and a new council was established, with the nuncio as president. The king had now surrendered himself to the Scots, and Ormond, believing the royal cause hopeless, began negotiations with the English Parliament, preferring to submit to it rather than to the party of the nuncio.

The nuncio prevailed on Preston to throw in his lot with the radical party, and, his army uniting with O'Neill's, in October they marched within a few miles of Dublin and threatened to lay siege to the city. At this crisis these two generals, always jealous of each other, quarreled outright, and on a false report reaching them that a Puritan force had landed at Dublin they drew off their men, abandoned the siege, and separated.

On the meeting of the General Assembly in January, 1647, the imprisoned members of the old council were released and the strife was renewed between the irreconcilable parties as bitter as ever. At length, after a violent discussion protracted dur-

ing three weeks, it was resolved that they would not accept the late treaty with Ormond, "nor any peace not containing a sufficient security for the religion, lives and estates of the confederate Catholics." A new oath of confederacy was taken, in which they solemnly bound themselves not to lay down their arms till they had established the free and public exercise of their religion.

Thus, while the confederates, distracted by the violence of the nuncio and the folly of his followers, could neither be persuaded to maintain peace nor prosecute the war with vigor, Ormond completed his treaty with the English Parliament, and July 28, 1647, he received their troops into Dublin. The terms agreed upon for this surrender were £14,000 to himself and £3,000 a year for his wife. Soon afterwards he left Ireland and joined the other escaped royalists in France.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### THE CONFEDERATE WAR—CONTINUED.

During 1647 the confederate armies were generally unsuccessful. Colonel Michael Jones, who had been commissioned by the English Parliament to receive the surrender of Dublin, no sooner was in command of the garrison than he made preparations to open a campaign against the confederates. With 12,000 foot and 700 horse, on the 8th of August the Puritan commander met Preston, at the head of 8,000 men, in a well fortified position on Dungan Hill, in Meath.

At the end of two hours' maneuvering and indecisive skirmishing, Jones advanced to the foot of the hill, having met but little opposition from the enemy's ill-served artillery. Preston, who had not learned the use of prudent delays, ordered Sir Alexander MacDonnell, with his brave Highlanders, to charge down the hill, instead of waiting for the inconvenient ascent of the enemy. These fiery soldiers were steadily received and soon driven back. Their repeated attempts met with no better success; their terrible and destructive assaults were resisted with steady valor and indomitable resolution.

MacDonnell, with whose temper such exploits agreed and whose heroism was rather roused than daunted by the impossible, was no sooner driven back than he returned to the attack with renewed audacity. But all the efforts of the gallant leader and his brave men were in vain. They were still beaten, broken and forced to retire, with considera-

ble slaughter. But though they did not come off victorious, they did with glory, for, to the admiration of both armies, charge after charge was made without any support from the cavalry, Preston having placed his horse in a position where the ground was marshy.

This error was not corrected in time and consequently proved fatal. When the horses were spurred they plunged deeper into the swampy soil. Jones, seeing their plight, sent forward a strong body of dragoons, who came up when about one-half of the Irish cavalry had formed. The shock was short. Preston's cavalry was overwhelmed and hunted from the marsh to a bog near by as its only security against being cut to pieces. But it was a fatal refuge. A large reserve force which had been forwarded for their relief fled along with them. All were instantly hemmed in by the hostile horse and foot and raked by the cannon and musketry of the enemy.

Preston, astonished at the destruction of his army, made a gallant attempt to restore the day, but all in vain. His bravery added to his misfortunes without redeeming his errors. The field of battle and the surrounding plains and marshes were covered with thousands of the confederates, dead or dying. In the meantime the rigorous Inchiquin had little difficulty in dealing with the confederate commander, Lord Theobald Taaffe. During the year he gained many triumphs over him, and, flushed with success, pushed his depredations almost to the walls of Kilkenny.

Cashel was taken and burned in September, almost without a blow in its defense, and Inchiquin, as cruel as he was active, caused a terrible slaughter to deluge its streets, houses and churches. Early in November Inchiquin was encamped at Mallow with an army of 6,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry,



while Taafe, with 7,500 foot and four regiments of horse, lay at Kanturk, about ten miles away. The confederate commander, being urged by the Supreme Council to attack Inchiquin, advanced a few miles to a hill called Knocknanos, and there drew up his army in order of battle.

He placed 3,500 foot on the right wing under the command of Sir Alexander MacDonnell, along with two regiments of horse under Colonel Purcell, while he himself took the left wing with 4,000 infantry and two regiments of cavalry. His position was well chosen. His front was protected by a morass and a small stream which nearly encircled the base of the hill.

November 13, 1647, Inchiquin advanced from Mallow and led his disciplined and victorious troops to the encounter. Purcell charged the hostile cavalry with such impetuosity that they at once gave way, while the Highlanders under MacDonnell, throwing down their muskets after the first fire, rushed into the midst of the foe, broadsword in hand, and after an immense slaughter broke the left wing opposed to them, drove their enemies off the field, pursuing them for two miles, and took possession of their artillery.

Inchiquin, in the meantime availing himself of a fatal oversight on the part of the confederates, sent a body of cavalry to gain the summit of the hill. These charging from the rear, while he himself led up his men in front against the left wing of the enemy, decided the battle in his favor. Taafe fought with determined valor, but being poorly supported by his men, most of whom fled from the field after the first onset, he attempted in vain to recall and rally them.

MacDonnell sent to Taafe notice of his success, but becoming impatient at his messengers not returning, he retired to a small hill to observe the

progress of the battle. On his return he was intercepted by a small band of the enemy and killed, while his brave men, without a leader to command them, stood their ground till most of them were slain, when the remnant threw down their arms and surrendered.

The confederates lost about 4,000 men, the flower of their army, along with their arms, standards and baggage. On receiving news of his victory the English Parliament voted a large sum for Inchiquin and his army, but only a small part of the money was sent, and the Irish mercenary began to think of changing sides once more. The defeat of the confederates so alarmed the council at Kilkenny that Inchiquin, who had resolved to return to the king's party, was enabled to dictate to them a truce or a cessation of hostilities covering Munster. The negotiations, protracted during the winter, came to an end May 20, 1648, when, in spite of the nuncio's strenuous opposition, the truce was signed.

Within a week the nuncio, at Kilkenny, published a solemn decree of excommunication against all the aiders and abettors of the truce and an interdict against all places where it should be received or maintained, and he then privately withdrew from the city and joined O'Neill at Maryborough. The nuncio now proposed that O'Neill should advance to Kilkenny, disperse the Confederate Council, and assume the dictatorship of Ireland, but O'Neill, perhaps, lacked the necessary boldness or audacity for such a step, and besides was reluctant to shed blood unless on the field of battle.

He advanced, however, for the purpose of overawing the council, but while on his march he was exposed to the attack of Inchiquin and Preston, who had combined against him, each of whom had an army superior to his own. By great exertion and

ability he managed to extricate himself from these difficulties and retreated with little loss to Ulster, while he was proclaimed a rebel and a traitor by the Supreme Council.

In September Ormond again landed in Ireland, in compliance with the repeated invitations of Inchiquin and the Confederate Council, and with a more earnest desire for peace between the confederates and the king than he had previously manifested. The peace negotiations were pushed forward as rapidly as possible, and, in spite of various delays, on the 16th of January, 1649, the new treaty of peace, which conceded full civil and religious liberty to the Catholics, was finally signed, and Ormond, once more Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was in supreme command of all the royal and confederate forces there.

Hardly had the treaty been published when news arrived of the execution of the king, and Ormond promptly proclaimed the Prince of Wales at Cork and Youghal by the title of Charles II. The presence of Ormond and the departure of the nuncio seemed to promise union to the distracted councils of the confederates. But the ruin of divided councils still continued.

Many of the confederate leaders hated and feared O'Neill, the ablest of the Irish generals, and successfully opposed Ormond's efforts to effect a reconciliation with him. They also viewed Inchiquin with suspicion, knowing his hatred and contempt for their religion, and believing that he had again changed sides merely from mercenary or other unworthy motives. Then the past conduct of Ormond himself had given sufficient cause for the jealous watchfulness with which he was still regarded. The Puritans at this time retained possession only of Derry, Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford and Dublin, with some adjacent posts. The capture

of Dublin was the first enterprise Ormond resolved to undertake.

Prince Rupert, whom he had requested to blockade Dublin Bay while he himself pushed the siege by land, positively refused to move with his fleet from Kinsale harbor. After a vain display of his troops before Dublin, which Ormond seems to have expected would produce an insurrection of the royalists in the city, he determined to reduce the garrison in the North before besieging the capital, and the command of the troops for this enterprise was given to Inchiquin.

Drogheda, after a short siege, was taken by assault, and in quick succession Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford, and all the garrisons in Ulster except Derry fell into the hands of Inchiquin. Several castles that had been seized by O'Neill, who was now in alliance with the Puritans, were recovered by Castlehaven.

Before Ormond's army could reassemble the garrison of Dublin was reinforced by 2,600 soldiers and a large supply of military stores. At the same time news arrived that Oliver Cromwell, the great Puritan leader, with a powerful army, was preparing to sail over to Munster, where he hoped to be joined by Lord Broghill and other Puritan leaders. It was generally believed that the planters and colonists in Yougal, Cork, Kinsale and other Southern towns were secretly inclined to favor the English Parliament, or, at any rate, ready to engage with them should they have the fairest prospect of success, for with these intruders hatred of the ancient faith was more powerful than their love of the king, but loyalty to their own narrow interests more potent than all.

On receiving this alarming intelligence, and after long deliberation, it was resolved to send Inchiquin with 1,100 cavalry to hold the Southern



province. It was thought that the Protestants of those seaport towns might be kept in their loyalty to the king by being placed under a commander as bigoted as themselves, and if Cromwell were kept out of the garrisoned towns it was hoped that the difficulties of the country and an active guerrilla warfare would compel his return to England.

The army of Ormond still seemed sufficient for the capture of Dublin, and during the summer he was successful in reducing several important posts in the vicinity of the city. In the latter part of July the royal army advanced to the siege of the capital, and Ormond, from his quarters at Rathmines, on the night of August 1 ordered Major-General Purcell, with 1,500 men, to advance immediately about a mile from camp and throw up intrenchments there during the night. His object was to deprive the hostile cavalry of the only pasturage in their possession, but by some mismanagement Purcell did not reach the place till an hour before daybreak, and Jones, sallying forth from the walls with 4,000 foot and 1,200 horse, overpowered the guards and raised an alarm in the camp.

The confusion of the royalists encouraged Jones to follow up his success. Regiment after regiment was beaten. A scene of indescribable confusion followed. Many of Inchiquin's old soldiers, under Ormond, refused to fight, threw down their arms, and joined the ranks of the enemy. It was in vain that Ormond, aroused from sleep, flew from post to post. His different divisions acted without concert. A general panic ensued and the whole royal army fled in all directions, leaving 1,000 dead on the field and 2,000 prisoners, many of whom were put to death in cold blood after they had been brought into the city.

All the baggage, tents, artillery and ammunition of the royalists fell into the hands of the



Puritans. This disastrous battle not only shattered the sanguine hopes of the Irish but caused men to doubt the military ability of Ormond. The latter, after his defeat, with the remains of his shattered forces withdrew to Kilkenny. This overthrow so crippled the royalists that they were at once thrown on the defensive, and Ormond never after ventured to meet the enemy in the field.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### CROMWELL IN IRELAND.

At the opening of 1649 Oliver Cromwell, the extraordinary man who was then molding the destinies of England, was at the head of the invincible Ironsides, the flower of the Puritan army.

This army, under his wonderful leadership, marching from triumph to triumph, had finally crushed the royal power in England and caused the execution of Charles I. Appointed early in the year Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland by the English Parliament, Cromwell had been prevented by various causes from departing for that country till late in the summer. August 14 he landed in Dublin with 8,000 foot, 4,000 horse, £200,000 in money, and a large supply of military stores and materials of war.

And now the civil war in Ireland was about to be stamped out. The Irish, like the English, were to be ground to powder. A terrible vengeance was to be exacted "to prevent," in the specious words of Cromwell, "the effusion of more blood." The Puritan general, having waited a short time in the Irish capital to refresh his army and to settle the civil and military government, determined to strike the first blow at Drogheda, a town of great importance as a military post and believed by Ormond to be absolutely impregnable.

Accordingly, in the latter part of August Cromwell advanced against Drogheda at the head of 10,000 chosen men. The town was held by Sir

Arthur Ashton, a brave English royalist, with 2,000 picked soldiers and a regiment of horse, besides some volunteers. On his arrival Cromwell sent Ashton a formal summons to surrender, which was sternly rejected, and a blockade accordingly was commenced.

The Puritans lost a few days in getting their siege guns from Dublin and in other preparations, so that they were not ready to begin battering the town till September 10. Then they opened a tremendous fire from all their cannons, which the walls of Drogheda were unable to resist. About the middle of the afternoon of the next day two practicable breaches were made, but the attempt to take the place by storm was twice repulsed with great slaughter. Cromwell rallied his men to a third effort. Again the stern assailants entered the breaches, but the brave garrison received them with such desperate valor that the issue seemed doubtful.

At this critical moment Colonel Wall, whose regiment was defending the breaches, fell fighting at the head of his men. Disheartened by the fall of their leader, his soldiers began to waver, and being closely pressed they surrendered on the promise of quarter; and the Puritans, being now masters of the two breaches, forced their way into the town. The remainder of the garrison, though taken by surprise and greatly outnumbered, fought bravely and disputed desperately every corner of the streets, making the enemy win what they did by inches.

Sir Arthur Ashton, with the remainder of his officers and men, finally fell back to an eminence within the walls called the Mill Mount, which was strongly protected by ramparts and palisades. There they defended themselves for some time against overwhelming odds, yielding at last on the promise of quarter. Though quarter had been promised by his officers and men, Cromwell refused to confirm it

and ordered the garrison to be disarmed and, with the inhabitants, to be put to the sword.

The governor, his officers and soldiers—the brave defenders of Drogheda—and the unfortunate people were indiscriminately put to death. The massacre was continued during the following five days. Multitudes of helpless victims who had fled to St. Peter's Church for protection were slaughtered there in cold blood by these ruthless Puritans. Many women of every rank had hidden themselves in the vaults of the church, but were there ferreted out by the Cromwellians and butchered without mercy.

Every man, woman and child within the walls of Drogheda was put to death, except thirty, and these, by a doubtful mercy, were sent to the West Indies and sold as slaves. The English Parliament on receiving Cromwell's terrible dispatches describing the massacre, ordered a day to be set apart throughout England as a day of solemn thanksgiving for this "marvelous great mercy," and the first day of November was "accordingly set apart."

The awful massacre at Drogheda was the first act in this terrible tragedy. Every step that Cromwell took through Ireland was marked with blood, and the sanguinary example of their chief was closely followed by his subordinates. From Drogheda the conqueror turned south and led his army, flushed with slaughter, to the siege of Wexford, a well fortified town of great commercial importance. September 29 the Puritan fleet appeared off the harbor of the town, and October 1 Cromwell, with 9,000 men, set down before its walls. Wexford was thus invested by land and sea before the citizens could be persuaded to receive help from Ormond, whom they regarded with extreme jealousy and suspicion, for which his past conduct had given them ample cause.

However, at the last moment they consented to receive 1,500 Ulster troops within the walls. October 10 Cromwell had finished his preparations for an attack and the next morning he began to batter the defenses. By noon of that day some breaches were made in the walls, which caused the governor to offer to surrender the town on honorable terms, but while the Irish commissioners were treating for this purpose with Cromwell, an outlying castle that commanded the walls was betrayed to the enemy by Captain James Stafford, its commander, its gates perfidiously opened and its guns turned against the town.

The Puritans were now enabled in safety to scale the adjacent walls by means of ladders. They entered Wexford thus easily, opened its gates to their troops, and the whole besieging army poured in. The Irish in consternation abandoned the fortifications and fell back towards the center of the town. It was in vain that many of the streets were barricaded with cables to retard the advance of the enemy. These obstacles were soon overcome and served to irritate the ferocious spirit of the determined assailants.

Many of the people abandoned their houses and crowded together in the market place or public square, where their defenders were soon driven to make their last stand. Here a gallant and successful resistance for an hour was maintained by the garrison against overwhelming numbers, but in vain. They were finally all cut to pieces. Nor could the shrieks and prayers of hundreds of women who knelt around the great cross in the public square save them from the cruel swords of the Puritan barbarians.

The horrors of Drogheda were renewed. No quarter was given. Rank nor office found respect, sex no distinction, old age no mercy, the babe at the



mother's breast no pity. The sieges of Drogheda and Wexford and the massacres which accompanied them, taking rank, as they do, in horror with the most atrocious in all history, have made the name of Cromwell eternally hated in Ireland.

The effect of these two fearful examples of almost unparalleled ferocity was instantaneous. As the stern leader of the Puritans advanced through Leinster, town after town, at the first summons to surrender, opened its gates without resistance. The terror of his siege trains and Ironsides soon spread over the greater part of the Eastern and Southern provinces. The hope of Cromwell, however, lay not only in his power to strike terror into the hearts of the royalists, but also in his skill in spreading treachery and disunion among them, as well as their want of a military leader competent and trustworthy—one with ability to unite them and genius to foil the incomparable skill and energy of the great regicide.

The loss of those two strongholds, Drogheda and Wexford, within a few weeks, being wholly unexpected, was a severe blow to the royalists and deranged all their plans. The Irish forces in the field now fell back in all directions and were making extraordinary exertions to protect the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny. The royalists had calculated that the sieges of Drogheda and Wexford would delay Cromwell's army for several months and that in the meantime they could collect such reinforcements as would make them more than a match for the invaders.

They learned at the same time that the Puritans had reduced the greater part of Ulster, and they received news of a conspiracy for betraying to Cromwell the English garrisons which had been left by Inchiquin in the Southern towns. Ormond, unable to check the bloody career of Cromwell, has-

tened to conclude a treaty with O'Neill on equitable terms.

That chieftain had faithfully kept his engagements with the Puritan commanders and had thrown many difficulties in the way of the royalists in the North. He had compelled them to raise the siege of Derry, and thus had rescued Coote and his small army, the last hope of the Puritans in Ulster, from the ruin which seemed to threaten them. At first the English Parliament hesitated to acknowledge the alliance made with O'Neill by its officers in Ireland, and after the victory of Rathmines they publicly refused to sanction it.

Stung with indignation, O'Neill accepted the offers of Ormond in October, 1649, and hastened from Derry with a large force to join the royal army, but while advancing southward he was seized with mortal illness. The dying chieftain, however, refusing to allow the march of his army to be retarded, was conveyed on a litter at the head of his men through Tyrone and Monaghan into Cavan. The motion of the litter served only to aggravate the disease and obliged him to rest for some time with his brother-in-law, Colonel Philip O'Reilly. After ordering his nephew and successor, Hugh D. O'Neill, to lead the promised troops to Ormond without delay, he was removed for greater security to Clough Oughter Castle, a stronghold of the O'Reillys on an island in Lough Oughter, in Cavan.

Here he lingered for a few days longer, but gradually sinking, in spite of his strong constitution and iron will, he expired on the 6th of November, 1649. When the incredible difficulties of his position during those seven years of civil war are carefully weighed and considered, perhaps no name more illustrious for the combination of great civil and military qualities will be found in the annals of

his country than that of the last great national leader, Owen Roe O'Neill.

The last order of the dying hero had been faithfully carried out by his gallant successor, Hugh D. O'Neill, who joined the royal forces with the main body of the Northern army. The timely arrival of the men of Ulster revived the courage of the royalists, and the Puritans were foiled in their attempt on Duncannon fort in October and in their attack upon Waterford in November. The fort was so gallantly defended by Colonel Edward Wogan that Cromwell's lieutenant, Henry Ireton, soon despaired of taking it, and on the arrival of Castlehaven with a relieving force the Puritans fled in such confusion that part of their artillery fell into the hands of the Irish.

Waterford was invested by Cromwell himself, but he there met a resistance as stubborn as it was unexpected, and on the sudden appearance of Ormond with a large relieving force he deemed it prudent to abandon the attempt, and accordingly raised the siege. After raising the siege of Waterford Cromwell found himself in a very dangerous situation. He was in the midst of a hostile and difficult country, destitute of quarters for his men, unable to advance, and exposed to attack at great disadvantage if he attempted to retreat.

Fluxes and contagious diseases during an inclement season had crept in among his officers and men, who perished in great numbers. His available forces were still further reduced in number by the garrisons which he had been compelled to leave in the captured towns. He had so far advanced with his decayed army that he found it difficult or impracticable either to subsist in the enemy's country or retreat to his own garrisons. But from all these difficulties he was at once relieved by the revolt of the English garrisons in County Cork.

This revolt against the royalists was principally owing to the intrigues and management of Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, son of the Earl of Cork. Taking advantage of Inchiquin's absence, Broghill late in the year advanced towards those Southern towns with a small force and met no opposition. Youghal, Kinsale, Bandon and Cork opened their gates and declared for the English Parliament. And thus at this critical moment Cromwell obtained excellent winter quarters for his army and the means of direct communication with England, and Broghill became one of his most active and trusty generals in Munster.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### THE END OF THE CONFEDERATE WAR.

Having rested his men for a few weeks at Youghal and Dungarvan and received reinforcements and abundant supplies from England, Cromwell in January, 1650, prepared to advance by two roads to Kilkenny, the headquarters of the royalist government. Part of his force moved from Carrick to Callan, while Ormond himself pushed forward from Youghal to Mallow, turned to the east south of the Galtee Mountains, crossed the Suir, and occupied Fethard, Cahir and Cashel.

In the meantime an auxiliary force advancing from Dublin had recovered County Kildare and secured the passage of the Barrow by the capture of Leighlin bridge, and in March the united parliamentary army was concentrated around Kilkenny. All this time the royalists were quarreling among themselves. The greatest distrust of Ormond and Inchiquin prevailed among the citizens of the towns, so that many of them absolutely refused to admit either them or their soldiers within their walls.

On Cromwell's approach to Kilkenny Ormond hurried into County Clare to organize a relieving force. The town was bravely defended by the plague-stricken garrison for eight days, when it surrendered, and then Cromwell turned to reduce Clonmel, which, with the exception of Waterford, was the only town of importance now held by the royalists in the South. Here he met with a desperate resistance under Hugh D. O'Neill. When the



cannon had made a sufficient breach an assault was ordered, and after four hours' terrific fighting the Puritans were driven back with terrible slaughter. In the night the garrison quietly evacuated the town and fell back on Waterford, and the next morning Cromwell, not knowing of its departure, received the capitulation of its citizens.

Immediately after this capture Cromwell was recalled to lead the armies of England into Scotland. During his nine months' command in Ireland he had captured many county capitals and a great number of less important places. The effect of his sanguinary methods soon spread over the greater part of Ulster, Leinster and Munster, and his well-reported successes had proved so many steps to the grasp of that supreme power at which evidently he already aimed.

At the departure of Cromwell from Ireland nearly all Ulster had been reduced by Coote. Broghill had overrun the counties of Cork and Kerry. Every place of any importance in Leinster and Munster but the cities of Waterford and Limerick was in the hands of the Puritans, and the distracted royalists were driven to make their last stand beyond the Shannon.

Henry Ireton, the son-in-law of Cromwell, was left in command. The war went on for another two years before the royalists were finally subdued. But after the fall of Kilkenny and Clonmel it seemed merely a question of time. In June the remnant of the Ulster army chose as its leader Heber McMahon, Catholic Bishop of Clogher. This warlike prelate was met by Coote near Letterkenny, defeated, taken prisoner, and hanged the following day. Waterford, after a gallant resistance by Preston, was surrendered to Ireton, the garrison marching out with all the honors of war.

In the camp of the royalists there was great

confusion. So unpopular was Ormond that both Limerick and Galway refused to receive him. The old Irish party attributed the successes of the Cromwellians to his incompetence. At length, when Prince Charles signed the covenant acknowledging the "sin of his father in marrying his Catholic mother," the clergy got the upper hand and drove Ormond into exile.

The old Irish party, which had thus again come to the front, now invited the Duke of Lorraine to come to its assistance as king-protector, but nothing important came from the negotiations. Ireton and Coote, after resting in winter quarters, in 1652 commenced an early spring campaign. Limerick was the principal object of attack. The line of the Shannon was held by the remains of Ormond's army. Castlehaven, whom Ormond had left in command, was watching the upper passes of the river, while Clanricard was guarding the lower passes.

Coote, with a large force of horse and infantry, made a movement as though he would attack Sligo and drew off Clanricard to its relief; then turning to the left and forcing the passes of the Curliou Mountains, he rushed into Roscommon and appeared before Athlone, which fell ere Clanricard could relieve it, and the line of the Shannon being lost the earl fell back to cover Galway.

Ireton overpowered the weakened guard of the ford at O'Brien's bridge, and the ford at Killaloe was betrayed. Castlehaven's forces dwindled away and Ireton appeared before Limerick, which capitulated after a resolute defense by Hugh D. O'Neill, and Galway followed a few months later. A few isolated castles were taken in detail, and Clanricard, after a heroic attempt to hold out in Donegal, laid down his arms in October, and the eleven years' war was at an end.

## CHAPTER XL.

### THE PLANTATION OF CROMWELL.

When the Civil War of 1641-52 was over the soil of the whole of Ireland was held to be forfeit. Three-fourths of the whole population were to be expelled and the vacant land repeopled with English planters. The wages of Cromwell's soldiers, greatly in arrears, were to be paid out of a part of the confiscated lands.

Vengeance upon the leaders of the war of 1641 was demanded by the popular cry in England and the courts-martial in the name of justice were to help clear the country for the new plantation. On Ireton's death Fleetwood was appointed lord-deputy, and with him were associated in the civil government four commissioners. Ludlow was left in command of the army. Courts-martial were held at Dublin, Athlone and Kilkenny for the trial of those who had been concerned in the so-called "massacre" of 1641.

Men and women were shot or hanged on the most shadowy evidence. The English Parliament passed an ordinance which in effect was a proscription of the whole nation. Mercy and pardon were to be extended to all whose possessions were worth less than £10, for the new settlers would require "hewers of wood and drawers of water." And also to those very few who since 1641 had shown "a constant good affection to the Commonwealth of England." The rest of the Irish people—peers, gentles and commons, landowners and burgesses—were

to be driven from their homes in Ulster, Leinster and Munster and banished into Connaught, where the desolated lands of the people of the West were to be parceled out and allotted to them for their bare subsistence and habitation.

Death was to be the penalty if they had not removed by May 1, 1654, and death was also to be the penalty if they returned without a license. There they were to be hemmed in as in a penal colony, with the ocean on the one hand and the Shannon on the other, forbidden to enter a walled town under penalty of death, with a line of disbanded soldiers planted in a belt all around the seacoast and along the river to keep them from approaching the border line.

Death and loss of all property were decreed for all who did not, within twenty-eight days, lay down their arms; to all Catholic priests and all persons who had in any way aided in the so-called rebellion of 1641, and finally to twenty-three peers, one bishop and eighty knights and gentlemen, all especially mentioned by name. The first step towards the carrying out of this wholesale eviction was the removal of the disbanded soldiers of the Irish army. The majority of the proscribed officers and leaders of the confederates already had sought safety on the continent.

The rank and file who had laid down their arms or had dispersed to their homes were pressed to enlist in foreign service. Thousands of them were eagerly recruited by agents of Spain, Poland and France. There remained behind great numbers of widows, orphans and deserted wives and families, and these the government proceeded to ship wholesale to the West Indies as slaves to the English sugar planters.

Between six and seven thousand, it is estimated, were transported. In the fall of 1652 commenced



the great eviction of the people of the three provinces to lands across the Shannon. All owners of lands, with their wives, their children, their servants and effects, must pass the river before the following May on pain of death. The flight was to be in the winter.

In many cases the allotments would have to be disputed with the old proprietors in actual possession. And now arose a great cry all over Ireland for a little more time. A short respite was finally given to the aged ladies, the sick and infirm. Slowly the beggared nobility and gentry started on their sorrowful journey. The descendants of the Anglo-Normans who under Henry II. had dispossessed the native Irish were driven forth from the estates which had been held in their families for five hundred years.

The season was wet, the roads well-nigh impassable, and the wretched multitude, as they struggled into the West, found that the barren land to which they had been sent was all too small for the promised accommodation. When the exiles reached Connaught they were pillaged by the officers employed to assign them allotments, who had to be bribed, either with money or a portion of the land awarded, before they would stir in the business.

But the exodus did not proceed fast enough. The adventurers who had advanced funds to the government on promise of confiscated lands were loudly demanding their new estates. The government was anxious to disband the Puritan troops upon the confiscated territory. And so the tardy emigrants were hurried on, arrested and imprisoned, and some even hanged "to encourage the others." The walled towns were cleared, like the county, the merchants of which going into exile and carrying their enterprises with them.

Connaught, though one of the largest prov-



inces in extent, had also the largest proportion of waste mountain and moorland. The new inhabitants were not to appear within two miles of the Shannon or four miles of the sea. A rigorous passport system, to evade which was death, completed this settlement, the design of which was to isolate the inhabitants from all intercourse with the people of their own country.

Thus penned in between the Shannon and the sea, "the remnant of the Irish nation passed seven years of bondage unequalled in severity by anything which can be found in the annals of Christendom."

The three provinces being cleared of the old proprietors the new plantation was taken in hand. Each soldier had received a bond which acknowledged the amount of his wages and his claim to an allotment of land. Company by company and troop by troop they marched on the ground, disbanded, and took possession. It was not till the end of 1656 that the disbanding was complete, and in the meantime the traffic in the bonds had been briskly carried on. Money was advanced on them. The common soldiers gambled for them or sold them at a great discount for ready cash.

Many of the officers bought up the claims of the men under them. Large estates were put together by the purchase of these claims to allotments, and no little chicanery was practiced by those who had their distribution, to their own advantage and that of their friends.

The desolation of Ireland after the eleven years' civil war was well-nigh complete. Six hundred thousand people, one-third of the population, had perished or been driven into slavery or exile; famine and plague had finished the work of the sword; the fields lay uncultivated. The wolves so increased in numbers, even around the City of Dublin itself, that rewards of £5 were paid for the head of a full-

grown wolf. Though the object of the government was to make a complete new plantation over three-quarters of the island, and though the land itself changed hands, it was found impossible to expel a whole nation.

In spite of all that persecution could do, many of the old proprietors still clung to their old country and wandered about their old domains or were admitted by the new owners as tenants. The younger and more active fled to the woods and mountains and swelled the ranks of the outlaws or "Tories," as they were called. There they lived a life of brigandage, robbing and slaying the settlers and destroying their property. They were followed by regular parties of armed men, smoked out of their caves and killed when found without mercy. A price was set upon their heads, as upon those of the wolves, but the wild country was too difficult of access for the government to succeed in exterminating them. As the "Tories" and the wolves were hunted and killed, so were the priests. The ecclesiastics, when captured, never in any instance were allowed to go without punishment.

Nevertheless, many still remained about the country in all sorts of disguises and in all sorts of hiding places, performing the sacred offices of their religion in secret and at the peril of their lives. The plantation failed, like the earlier ones, by the planters being gradually absorbed by the Irish. Notwithstanding the most strict regulations to the contrary, many of the soldiers married the young Irish girls. The old process was begun over again which had been at work in the days of the Normans. The settlers succumbed to the old influences and in the next generation many of the children of Cromwell's soldiers had become Catholics and unable to speak a word of English.

The new population soon split up into a great

number of sects. Some of them turned Quakers, many became Anabaptists, and others conformed to the established church. Cromwell died in September, 1658, leaving England to experience nearly two years of anarchy and intrigue till, the time being ripe for a restoration, Prince Charles landed at Dover and was proclaimed Charles II.

## CHAPTER XLI.

### THE RESTORATION AND ACT OF SETTLEMENT.

In Ireland, when it had become apparent on the death of Cromwell that the restoration of the monarchy was probable, the new settlers perceived that to secure their allotments they must make their peace with Prince Charles. Broghill and Coote, the presidents of Munster and Connaught, who had received numerous estates under the new settlement, though hitherto ardent Cromwellians, began intriguing with Charles and invited him to land in Ireland. They surprised Dublin, and having secured the principal garrisons in the island raised the cry for a free parliament.

The army, in which their influence was unbounded, was secured by providing for the payment of its wages and for its future maintenance. The restoration of the monarchy excited lively hopes in the minds of the dispossessed Irish. They thought that as the king had come into his own again, they should also be restored to the possession of the estates they had lost through their devotion to his cause.

Some of them, acting with more zeal than discretion, proceeded to take possession of their old estates by force. This rash proceeding gave the new settlers the opportunity of raising a false alarm of a fresh insurrection, and so to impress the king with the belief that the safety of the kingdom depended on the maintenance of the Protestant interest. The king's first act was to restore the estab-

lished church to its former position and to reward with peerages the turncoats who had intrigued for his return.

Coote and Broghill, with Sir M. Eustace, the lord-chancellor, were intrusted with the government of Ireland as lords-justices. The royalists were active in their demands for a general restoration of their estates. On the other hand, the soldiers and adventurers were in possession, and Charles II. had been reinstated by the leaders of these very men, whom it would be exceedingly dangerous to disturb.

The Catholics petitioned the king for an immediate restoration of their property and offered to pay a third of their income for two years to the Cromwellian soldiers and adventurers, and for five years to those who had bought lands during the government of Cromwell. The estates had been granted them in place of money advanced or owed as wages. By the sword they had won the fertile lands of Ireland, and by the sword, if necessary, they would endeavor to retain them.

Charles was in a difficult position, for many of his father's enemies, seeing the turn of the tide, had been foremost among those who helped him to the throne. The new friends, such as Coote and Broghill, needed rewarding, for their principles went with their interests. Their estates were, therefore, extended. Coote was created Earl of Montrath and Broghill Earl of Orrery.

By every tie of honor the king was bound to reinstate those who had suffered for his father and himself, and at first he did not mean to desert them. He was told that there would be land enough to meet all claims and he tried to believe the same. The new settlers naturally resented being evicted, with the doubtful prospect of fresh lands somewhere to be given some time, and Charles, remembering that the Cromwellians were powerful and resolute



enough to raise an insurrection, after some hesitation resolved to confirm them in their tenure. In May, 1661, the Irish Parliament, after a lapse of nearly twenty years, was once more assembled. The chief business it was to settle was regarding the claims of the new and old interests.

In the House of Commons, composed almost entirely of Cromwellians, a bill of settlement favoring the "new interest" was easily passed, but in the House of Lords there was a hard fight, though by the influence of Ormond it was finally passed. Lest this bill might provoke too much indignation among the Catholics, a Court of Claims was instituted, in which certain of the Irish might have their cases tried, and "if proved innocent" get their lands restored.

None who had joined the confederates before '48, or had adhered to the party of the Papal Nuncio, or had accepted lands in Connaught were to be considered "innocent," and no one who played a merely passive part during the war and leaned to neither one side nor the other, should be allowed to regain the land he had lost. The Protestant interest, though it had little to fear from a Court of Claims bound by such restrictions, still to make things more secure no pains were spared to obtain commissioners friendly to the new interest. Notwithstanding all these precautions the court was crowded with applicants, and at the end of three months, out of two hundred cases tried, only nineteen were thrown out, the vast majority being judged "innocent," and in consequence entitled to the restoration of their estates.

The new proprietors, wild with indignation, raised a great clamor and talked loudly of an appeal to arms, and Charles, seeing he must definitely sacrifice one party, decided that the weakest must go. The time of the Court of Claims was accordingly

restricted to one year. Four thousand claims had been entered, but only seven hundred heard when the court closed and the hopes of thousands of unheard claimants were at an end.

A period of wearisome dispute, chicanery and wrangling followed this decision. It was finally agreed that the soldiers, adventurers and bondholders should give up one-third of their land, but in spite of this surrender hardly a sixth of the profitable land of Ireland remained to the Catholics, for in all cases of competition between them and the Protestants, doubtful issues were decided in favor of the latter.

By special favor Ormond and a few others were at once restored to their estates and honors, but all other claimants who had not been heard for want of time were held to be disqualified. The land question was now settled, and after twenty-one years of fighting, confiscating and restoring the Catholic Irish held just one-half as much land as they had possessed when they began the war in 1641. As a net result of the final settlement, while before the Civil War the Catholics of Ireland held two-thirds of the good land, after the act of settlement and explanation they held only one-third.

Numbers of royalists, who claimed with quite as much justice to be "innocent" as many who were restored, were left in their poverty without a shadow of compensation and retired to the continent, railing bitterly against the king's ingratitude, while many of the time-serving new men, who had now got the country in their grasp, secured every acre they had acquired without any deduction. Dr. William Petty estimated that the Catholics recovered of their confiscated property about 2,340,000 Irish acres, while of the 7,500,000 acres of good land which he calculated the island contained, the Protestants held 5,160,000 acres.

The tenure by which the new landlords held their estates had been so insecure, the fear of war and harvest burning so great, and the chances of eviction so considerable that few cared to sow corn which their enemies might reap or destroy, and as a consequence the greater part of the country had been made into pasture.

The profits of agriculture were greater than of pasturage, but the return was slower and the damage done by an invading army far greater. Larger capital is needed to work an agricultural than a grazing farm and it also requires much more labor. The population had been so thinned by war, plague, exile and transportation that Ireland almost became one immense pasture. The great wealth of the country at this time was cattle and the only trade of the country was their exportation to England and Scotland.

The importation of Irish cattle was declared a "nuisance" by the British government and for the time Ireland was almost ruined. Subsidies and taxes no longer could be paid; the country was in the direst distress, but now all classes and both races were affected by this calamity, and Ormond and other leaders set to work to help themselves and their country. They could not get the embargo taken off the exportation of cattle, but they persuaded Charles to allow Ireland free trade with foreign countries. Ormond also induced skilled weavers both of woolen and linen to come over from Flanders and teach their art to the Irish.

The clergy of the established church in Ireland had come back in triumph at the restoration. The vacant bishoprics had been filled and the new prelates consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral with great pomp and solemnity. The church had suffered greatly during the time of Cromwell in Ireland and had been completely overwhelmed by

the storm of civil war. Now the church had the upper hand and it signalized its return to place and power by an outburst of intolerance.

Of the 1,100,000 souls that constituted the population of the island, 800,000 were Catholics, 100,000 Presbyterians, 100,000 Independents, Anabaptists and Quakers, and only 100,000 were members of the established church. For this 100,000 there were four archbishops and eighteen bishops. Many of the parish clergy held sinecures, in some cases having no congregations. They lived away in Dublin or in England and left an ill-paid curate to perform a service when a few persons should be gathered together. There were some who drew from their united livings as much as £1,000 a year without performing any duty whatever.

The party of the established church which had returned to Ireland began by a violent outburst of intolerance, directed not so much against the Catholics as the Nonconformists, but especially against the Presbyterians the law was now put in force. A new act of uniformity was quickly passed and the bishops insisted upon the acceptance of the Anglican prayer book being enforced upon all who were permitted to preach or teach in any church or public place.

Out of seventy ministers in Ulster but seven submitted and were ordained, the rest being banished, their congregations in many cases following them into exile. Ormond was now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and his administration is chiefly a record of measures against the Catholics. The king was anxious to allow the latter as much toleration as possible, but the fury of the "Popish plot" in England found its way to Ireland.

Ormond was strongly anti-Catholic and to him is due the dishonor of sending Dr. Plunkett, the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, to his trial and

death in England. But a reaction soon set in and the Catholics enjoyed more liberty than had been theirs for generations.

Charles II. died in 1685 and his brother James, Duke of York, immediately ascended the throne as James II.



## CHAPTER XLII.

### ACCESSION OF JAMES II.

James II. was a Catholic in religion and consequently unpopular in England. He would, perhaps, never have been crowned but that he had no legitimate son. His daughter Mary, wife of William of Orange, was next heir to the throne, and the English preferred waiting till James' death for her accession, to a violent and sanguinary revolution. The accession of a king of their own faith was naturally a great joy to Catholic Ireland. But the Protestants of Ireland were greatly alarmed at his ascendancy and the "new interest" quaked for their rights and privileges, but their fears were somewhat calmed by the appointment of Lord Clarendon, a Protestant, to the office of lord-lieutenant, though at the same time Richard Talbot, a zealous Catholic, was created Earl of Tirconnell and given command of the army.

James announced that he intended to establish religious equality, a joyful proclamation to Catholics, but greatly distrusted by the Episcopalians and others, who saw in it the first step towards Catholic ascendancy. Encouraged by James' favor the Irish royalists again petitioned for a reversal of the act of settlement and a restoration of their estates, and it seemed likely that their request would be granted.

The army was remodeled and opened to Catholics. Protestant officers were dismissed and Catholics put in their places. The Protestant militia was disarmed. The "Tories," or outlaws, emboldened

by the defenseless condition of the settlers and shielded by the peasantry, made raids on their farms and carried off or killed thousands of cattle. The old proprietors urged the tenants to refuse to pay rents to the new settlers on the plea that the latter had no right to the land, and as the disarmed Protestants dared not evict them the laborers defied their masters openly.

Excesses were committed and a groundless rumor spread abroad that the Catholics intended to massacre the entire Protestant population. Thousands of the latter fled to the nearest towns or barricaded themselves in their houses in terror. About this time Lord Clarendon was removed and Tircconnell put in his place as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

This step confirmed the fears of the settlers. They were now convinced that retribution was at hand. Hundreds of families left Dublin with Lord Clarendon and all the seaport towns were thronged with refugees. Talbot's imprudent administration was alarming to the Protestants, many of whom were summarily turned out of office to make room for Catholic judges, mayors and sheriffs. Protestant ascendancy for the time was overthrown and the lives and fortunes of the settlers were at the mercy of the natives.

In June, 1688, the birth of a prince brought matters to a crisis. On the birth of a Catholic heir the English nobles invited William, Prince of Orange, to come over and take possession of the English throne. War, massacre and confiscation were associated in Catholic Ireland with Protestant ascendancy, and the majority knew nothing of the invitation to William till the news reached them that he had landed in England and that James had fled to France.

For a moment Talbot seemed paralyzed by the

news, but he immediately resolved to fight and quickly raised 30,000 volunteers. The news of the muster of these troops increased the terror of the Protestants.

The Protestants of Derry and Enniskillen proclaimed William and Mary king and queen, and, determined to protect themselves against the adherents of James, closed their gates and prepared to begin the famous sieges of Derry and Enniskillen. Meanwhile the conventions of England and Scotland declared that James had abdicated and offered the crown to William and Mary.

Tirconnell now proceeded to stir the Irish into vigorous action on behalf of James. Bodies of irregular troops, or "rapparees," as they were called, were collected till nearly 100,000 men were under arms. The Protestants were disarmed. The regular troops were quartered on the farmers. The rapparees took up their quarters in the mountains. The houses of many of the settlers were robbed and their horses, sheep and cattle driven off.

The scattered Protestants in the South and West were helpless and made no resistance. The important towns were soon in the hands of the government, and the isolated country houses, which the owners had fortified, were surrendered or deserted. Those settlers who were able traveled into the North, where the Protestant interest was strongest, and formed a combination for a vigorous self-defense.

Tirconnell determined to reduce the Protestants of the North before they had time to organize themselves, and for this purpose sent Richard Hamilton with a strong force into Ulster. As the latter advanced the Protestants retreated from town to town, breaking down the bridges and burning every house behind them. They retreated beyond Lough Foyle and thousands sought refuge within the walls of

Derry, while others turned at bay in Enniskillen. Meanwhile the Irish were looking to France, the most powerful state in Europe, for aid.

Negotiations accordingly took place between Tirconnell and Louis XIV. James, who had been received with great respect and hospitality at the French court, urgently petitioned for the assistance of a French army. Louis was not ready to furnish soldiers, but he was liberal enough with other sinews of war. He furnished a fleet of fourteen men-of-war and nine smaller vessels. Abundant arms, munitions of war and money were also provided. One hundred French officers and twelve hundred Irish refugees accompanied the expedition, and James landed at Kinsale, March 12, 1689.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

### JAMES II. IN IRELAND.

On the landing of James in Ireland he was hailed with enthusiasm. His misfortunes had wiped out from the memory of the Irish people the remembrance of his unpopularity and his flight from England. Influenced by their sympathies, they saw in James the noble upholder of their faith, persecuted for righteousness' sake, deserted by his English subjects, and dethroned by his own daughter because of his religion.

Irish hospitality and sympathy had prepared a warm welcome for the king, who enjoyed an ovation from Kinsale to Dublin and a perfect triumph in the capital, where ten days and nights were spent in festivities, levees and receptions. After a hasty visit to Derry, where the siege was assuming the form of a blockade, he proceeded to summon a parliament, which met in May.

Most of the Protestant peers and bishops had fled to England. To increase the number of the Upper House James created six new peers. The House of Commons consisted almost wholly of Catholics, only six Protestants being returned. The first care of the parliament was to secure its own independence in the event of the restoration of James to the English throne. It was declared that no English statute should bind Ireland, and it followed, of course, that Poynings' act was repealed. This act, passed during the time of Henry VII., provided that no act passed by the Irish Parliament



should become effective till it had been approved by the English Privy Council, by which it might be altered and amended to any extent, and must be either passed just as it was returned or rejected altogether.

Acts were also passed to secure religious equality. Since the reformation Catholics and Protestants alike had to pay tithes to the clergymen of the established church. It was now decreed that each person should pay tithes only to the clergy of his own denomination. Measures for the security of trade were also passed, but the chief business of the session was the reversal of the act of settlement, and it was decreed that all those who held lands previous to October, 1641, should be reinstated. The next measure was the act of attainder, by which over 2,000 political adversaries who were known to be or were suspected of being adherents of William were attainted and declared to have forfeited all their property, real and personal, unless they surrendered before a certain day.

James had not abandoned the arbitrary principles of the Stuarts even in Ireland. He doubled by his mere proclamation the enormous subsidy of £20,000 monthly voted him by the Irish Parliament. He established a bank and decreed in his own name a bank restriction act. He debased the coinage and established a fixed scale of wages to be observed by all merchants and traders. He violated his own professed purpose of establishing liberty of conscience by endeavoring to force fellows and scholars on Trinity College contrary to its statutes. He even went so far as to appoint a provost and librarian for the university without the consent of the senate.

In the meantime the Protestants of Ulster were fighting with unexampled stubbornness. The famished garrison of Derry, after enduring a siege of

one hundred and five days, was relieved by the tardy arrival of three provision ships and De Rosen and the Irish army raised the siege. The gallant Enniskillens, upon whom three bodies of troops were converging under the Duke of Berwick, Patrick Sarsfield and Justin McCarthy, after checking the two former boldly attacked the latter and utterly overthrew him at Newtown Butler, with a loss of 2,000 men.

Sarsfield was driven back on Athlone and Sligo was occupied by William's men. The whole Irish army of the North, abandoning its stores, was in full retreat, and in two months' time William's general, the veteran Duke of Schomberg, had landed with 1,000 men at Bangor, in County Down. The Irish troops, mostly raw, untried levies, were very poorly armed and also they were in want of money.

James was in despair at the succession of disasters. That which filled the king with despair roused the Irish to renewed activity and very shortly the depleted regiments from Ulster were filled with eager recruits and enthusiasm was kindled throughout the Irish ranks. The Irish soldiers were individually brave, but they were ill-armed and ill-trained. Few of their officers had any military experience or the knowledge to enable them to drill the new recruits into shape.

Now that the danger became pressing great efforts were made by De Rosen and the other French officers and by the Irish themselves to procure a better organization. James did his best to prevent all robbing and plundering by stern orders and summary executions and the behavior of the Irish army was much superior to that of William's soldiers, who rioted and lived at free quarters on their friends.

Carrickfergus capitulated after a short siege to

Schomberg, and the latter took his way to Lisburn, Berwick falling back before him and burning the towns of Carlingford and Newry. But Schomberg's army was hardly more efficient than that of James and was less in numbers. His Dutch and French regiments were seasoned troops, but his English forces were mostly raw recruits, hurriedly enlisted in England, many of them not even knowing how to fire their muskets. Through frauds of the contractors the provisions were uneatable and the supply of tents, clothing and horses lamentably deficient.

On reaching Dundalk he formed an intrenched camp, not daring to attack the enemy, which greatly outnumbered him, and determined to await reinforcements from England before he risked a battle. For two months the cautious old general kept his men in their quarters, striving to infuse skill and discipline into his recruits. Exposure to the wet climate and poor living brought on fevers and other diseases, which thinned the number of his men appreciably.

At length the army of James, in despair of drawing him into an engagement, broke up its camp and went into winter quarters, and Schomberg drew the remnant of his army off to Lisburn and also went into winter quarters. In the spring General De Rosen and D'Avaux, the French ambassador, dissatisfied with James' incapacity, obtained their recall to France, and soon afterwards Louis sent to Ireland a reinforcement of 5,000 French troops under Count de Lauzan, but in return an equal number of Irish soldiers was drafted for service in France.

Schomberg's army was getting over its demoralization, reinforcements were coming over from England, and in the spring of 1690 it was engaged in reducing Charlemont, which was gallantly held

by its governor, Teige O'Regan, and a small garrison. It was not surrendered until reduced by starvation. But though neither army made much progress in the campaign, the troops of Schomberg, a strange medley of Dutch, Danes, English, Germans and military adventurers from every European country, were becoming so demoralized that King William, hoping his presence would have some effect on them, landed at Carrickfergus in June and took command of the army, composed of 40,000 men.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

On the arrival of William in Ireland his strict discipline and heroic example soon restored order and enthusiasm to his troops. Supported by his ships, which moved in a parallel course along the coast, he marched southward and occupied the northern bank of the Boyne, where he was confronted by the army of James.

William had forty pieces of heavy artillery and four mortars. His army, "which decided the fate of Ireland and the Stuarts," was of a very motley character, about half of it being composed of British soldiers, the other half of foreign mercenaries—Danes, Swedes, Dutch, Swiss, Fins, Germans, and French Huguenots. The army of James had the better position, the army of William the larger force and the inspiration of being headed by a man who knew no fear.

"James left Dublin on the 27th of June and marched for Dundalk. The Irish portion of his infantry consisted mostly of raw recruits, and these only half armed; his French auxiliaries were fine, trained and well-equipped troops. The Irish dragoons were a noble body of cavalry, but they were not veterans, not even sufficiently disciplined. His artillery amounted to only twelve field pieces. By a retrograde movement James recrossed the Boyne July 9, and having encamped on the right bank in a strong position, he there awaited William, to dispute the passage of the river. Further up the lat-



ter could have passed over without molestation, but it was his interest to come to a general engagement as speedily as possible. Accordingly he moved directly towards the king's encampment, in front of which he appeared on the 11th of July, the Boyne separating the two armies.

The strength of the combatants has been variously given. By one account they were of nearly equal strength. James led 33,000, William 36,000. But the statement of the Duke of Berwick, James' son, is perhaps more to be depended on. The duke was not only a gallant soldier but an honest man, remarkable for his regard of truth, and also he held a command on that memorable day. He informs us that William's troops amounted to 45,000, while the king's were only 20,000. The latter were under the Duke of Tirconnell as commander-in-chief. Shortly after midday as William, with a party of officers, was reconnoitering he had a narrow escape of his life. A six-pound shot grazed his right shoulder, but did no more harm than cause a slight abrasion of the skin.

At sunrise on the morning of the 12th of July a division of William's army, consisting of 10,000 men, under the command of Lieutenant-General Douglas, Lord Portland, and Schomberg's son, were seen moving on the heights towards Slane. The Irish officers had foreseen this movement the previous evening and had some difficulty in persuading James to send Sir Niall O'Neill, with his regiment of dragoons, to guard the pass of Rosnaree. The entire of the left wing, part of the centre, and Lauzan's French division were dispatched to defeat this attempt at outflanking, which would have been made by the most ordinary commander having at his disposal a great numerical majority. By the severance of this corps, accompanied by six field pieces, James' line of battle was sadly weakened

and his artillery reduced to a skeleton. O'Neill's cavalry obstinately disputed the pass of the river at Rosnaree, but they were forced to give way after the loss of a great many men and their commander, who received a mortal wound.

Notwithstanding this success the Williamites were not able to obtrude themselves on the enemy. A ravine and a bog still separated the hostile divisions, who continued for the remainder of the day surveying each other at short cannon range. At 10 o'clock it was low water and the time to attempt the fords at Oldbridge. A fierce cannonade was opened on the entire line of the Irish, who were able to give in return a scant and impotent reply. Count de Solmes, with the Dutch guards, then considered some of the best infantry in the world, was the first to try the river at the highest ford, that opposite Oldbridge, which was so shallow as only to reach the knee.

The Enniskillen and Londonderry horse followed, and then the French Huguenots under Caillemot, Ruvigny's brother. These were succeeded by Sir John Hanmer and Count Nassau. The Danish troops crossed lower down, and the cavalry of the left wing, commanded by William himself, still lower, at the fifth ford, where the water was deepest. The channel was so choked by the multitudes wading through simultaneously at five different points that the peril was much increased by the rise of the water, which in many places overflowed the banks. The forming on the right bank was not effected till after severe and wasteful struggles. At Oldbridge the contest was hot and manly, such as equalizes the vanquished and victorious, conferring honor on both.

Young Schomberg, in spite of the regiment stationed there, had taken the place, when Hamilton came up with seven battalions to recover it.

The enemy were driven out by two battalions of Irish guards, but their cavalry passed by another ford and attacked the guards with the irresistible fury of a tempest. The hands of death clutched and cut like those of a reaper: the stoutest fell under the rapid blades of those terrible swordsmen, like haulm beneath the sickle. But Berwick, under whom was the cavalry of the right wing, saw the havoc, and instantly his spur was in the ribs of the charger.

His troopers made a furious onslaught, but notwithstanding the impression produced by it they were able to accomplish little more than the extricating of their battalions, for they were forthwith infested by a swarm of squadrons. Not alone in number was the combat unequal, but also in the nature of the ground, 'which was very much broken, and where the enemy had slipped in their infantry.' Nevertheless, Berwick, at the time only twenty years old, returned to the charge ten different times. Heroism so rare, so brilliant, met its meed; it was crowned by the victors themselves, if they could call themselves such. Confounded and surprised by such boldness and full of admiration of a courage of which they themselves were bright examples, the hostile cavalry halted and gazed, allowing young Berwick to reform his squadrons and retire at a slow pace, thus magnanimously bestowing on him the credit of a drawn battle.

When bravery has a home in the heart, generosity is sure of a share in the tenement. The defense of the fords had been intrusted to Irish foot, very deficient not only in number but also in equipment, the majority having been mere pikemen. Before they received any support from their cavalry they withstood for a longer time than could be well expected, even had they been better seasoned and appointed, the raking of a heavy cannonade, the

fusillade of the covering musketry across a narrow stream, and the sabering disciplined and daring troopers.

Till they had been discomfited and disorganized nothing was done to support them. Sarsfield's horse was the king's bodyguard and had no share in the action. James, perhaps, was more concerned for his personal safety than for the issue of the battle. As for the rest of the cavalry, they incurred no disgrace, except Clare's regiment and that of Dungan, which were disheartened in the very beginning by the fall of the commander. The struggle was not without its vicissitudes. There were defeats and successes on both sides, and of this the victors may be proud, for the laurels which are easily won do not long continue green. The Danish brigade was driven into the river by the Irish cavalry, and the Huguenots, who also lost Caillemot, were several times repulsed. Duke Schomberg, though eighty-two, plunged in with youthful energy.

He was rushing to rally the Huguenot regiments where the Irish guards were charging and breaking them. His presence and example restored order and redoubled exertion. The guards were beaten off and pursued with wide destruction. At this juncture the brave octogenarian, Schomberg, met his death. King James says he was 'killed by an exempt of the guards while crossing the ford,' as he is represented in the tapestry in the Bank of Ireland. The Earl of Portland, William's marshal-de-camp, relates that he was slain in Oldbridge by five of James' life guards, who met him in their flight.

Captain Parker says the current and most probable report was 'that he was shot by a trooper who had deserted from his own regiment about a year before.' There are still other versions, but we



think the king's most worthy of belief, for the old duke was of an eager temper and longing to be forward. A little after this event Dr. Walker fell while crossing a ford at the head of his hardy Ulstermen. For a long time the Irish horse of James' right wing kept in check the horse and foot of William's left and centre, but their efforts were favored by the obstacles which the offensive side had to surmount.

It was advanced in the day when William passed over and placed himself at the head of the Enniskilleners, whom he flattered by taking them for his bodyguard. By this time the king's troops wavered in all directions. The right wing was giving way every moment. On the left the cavalry was almost annihilated. Exhaustion left the centre almost powerless. William, who certainly was an able captain, as well as a cool one, did not attempt the stream till he saw victory waiting for him on the opposite bank. Finding all things to his satisfaction, he gave orders for a general advance.

In a few minutes more the trumpets sounded the charge, which at the same time proclaimed the flight of the enemy, ignominiously headed by a prince, once as celebrated for courage and capacity as henceforth for the lack of these qualities. The loss in this battle was about 1,500 a side, killed and wounded. The first news of the day's disaster was brought to Dublin by James himself, who arrived there in the evening, and ungenerously cast the blame on his Irish soldiers. Early on the following morning he set out southward, and passing through Wicklow and Wexford, arrived at Duncannon, in Waterford, where he embarked for Kinsale. At this port a French squadron, provided by the queen, awaited his service and took him to Brest, where he landed July 31."



## CHAPTER XLV.

### THE SIEGES OF ATHLONE AND LIMERICK.

“It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the fate of Europe was decided by the result of the battle of the Boyne. At Paris, at the Hague, at Vienna, at Rome, at Madrid nothing was talked of but the great victory of the Prince of Orange over Louis and James. It is one of the strangest complications of history that the vanquished Irish Catholics seem to have been never once thought of by Spain, Austria or the Pope. In the greater issues of the European coalition against France their interests, and their very existence, were for the moment forgotten.”

Dublin was evacuated by the Irish soon after the battle of the Boyne and occupied by the forces of William. The latter issued a proclamation offering full and free pardon to the laborers, artisans, farmers and common soldiers who should return home and lay down their arms, but the Catholic gentry were excepted, with a view to future confiscation, and a commission was appointed to seize all forfeited estates. The upper classes, excluded from mercy, had no way open to them but to prolong the war, and the peasantry were drawn into the same course by the open violation of William's orders for protection by the British and foreign troops. Though deserted by James and fresh from defeat, the Irish troops showed no inclination to yield. Encouraged by news of the great French victory at Beachy Head over the combined Dutch and English fleets,

they determined to make another heroic effort for national independence. They fortified themselves in Limerick and Athlone, and thus secured by the strong line of the Shannon, boldly set their enemies at defiance.

A strong garrison was thrown into Athlone. Cork, Kinsale and Galway were well prepared for defense, and the bulk of the Irish army entered Limerick, where it was shortly joined by the garrisons of Waterford, Kilkenny and other towns in Leinster and Munster, which had either retired on Limerick or marched out, on favorable terms, at the approach of William. The reduction of Athlone was intrusted to General Douglas, under whose command were placed ten regiments of infantry and five of cavalry. He advanced as if he was marching through an enemy's country. The protection that had been granted to the peasantry, in accordance with the terms of William's proclamation, was flagrantly disregarded, and the barbarities, which Douglas made little effort to check, completed the aversion of the Irish to the dominion of the Prince of Orange.

On his arrival before Athlone Douglas found the part of the town lying to the east of the Shannon destroyed, the bridge broken down, and the Irish town, as it was called, on the next bank, fortified with great care. Colonel Richard Grace, the governor, a descendant of Raymond le Gros, one of the original Norman invaders, had taken every possible precaution against a siege and had made the place well-nigh impregnable. Douglas sent a summons to surrender, but Grace replied by discharging his pistol over the head of the messenger and bade him take that as his answer.

Douglas resolved to undertake the siege immediately and, having erected a battery, opened a heavy fire on the castle. It was returned with

vigor; his works were ruined and many of his gunners killed. The cruelties his soldiers had perpetrated on the peasantry produced their natural effect. No provisions were brought into the camp and the detached foraging parties were cut off by bands of those unfortunate men whom they had themselves driven to desperation.

With strict impartiality they seem to have robbed Protestants and Catholics alike and made both the victims of their unrestricted depravity. Douglas determined to force the passage of the river at Lanesborough, but found the ford strongly guarded, and after a vain attempt was forced to retire with considerable loss. In the meantime a report was circulated that Sarsfield was advancing with a large force to raise the siege. Douglas, no longer with any hope of success, quitted Athlone in great haste, abandoning his heavy baggage, and, leaving the high road for fear of pursuit, proceeded to Limerick, "raging and slaying as he went."

William, disturbed by the gloomy dispatches from England, was on the point of hurrying back to London, but on the receipt of more favorable news, and having secured the harbors of Waterford and Wexford, he moved through Tipperary to invest Limerick. There he was joined by Douglas from his unsuccessful attack on Athlone. William was fully persuaded that he was marching to speedy and certain conquest. He had learned from his spies the bitter jealousy that existed between the Irish and French officers, and that several of the latter, already dissatisfied with the nature of their service, were about to return home.

The report was true. Lauzan, who was sick of the hardships of Irish campaigning, declared Limerick absolutely untenable. He was supported by Tirconnell, now broken down by physical suffering and mental anxiety, but Sarsfield and the French

governor ~~were~~ of a different opinion. Tirconnell and Lauzan, with the French regiments, accordingly withdrew to Galway, and the Irish troops, about 20,000 in number, remained "to wipe out the memory of the Boyne." William, however, was no longer in a position to avail himself of these circumstances. By his commission of forfeitures he had left the Irish leaders no choice between war and a tame submission to unprincipled spoliation. Trusting to the dissensions between the French and Irish, William at first made insufficient preparations for the siege. He brought with him only a field train and ordered his heavy artillery to be sent after him from Dublin under an adequate escort.

After driving in the outposts William's army encamped within cannon shot of the walls and a regular summons was sent to the governor, Boisseleau, to surrender. He replied that he would defend the town to the last. The spirit manifested by the governor was well supported by the garrison and it was soon discovered by William that no hope could be entertained of a speedy surrender. The siege was therefore immediately undertaken. Few besieging armies ever exhibited such a variety of tongues and nations as that now assembled before Limerick, and still fewer were less guided by any principle of morals or humanity.

They plundered and burned the country in every direction and renewed the scenes of rapine and murder that had been displayed at Athlone. The vigorous defense by the garrison filled William with anxiety. He sent orders to hasten the heavy artillery and commanded his cavalry to scour the country and repel the attacks of the peasants, who sought every opportunity of retaliating the wrongs they had suffered from the soldiers. The news of William's situation was brought into Limerick by a deserter, and Sarsfield immediately formed the dar-



ing plan of surprising the escort that was now on the way to William's camp.

For this purpose Sarsfield secretly led his troops over Thomond bridge and crossed the Shannon at Killaloe under the cover of night, slipped by a circuitous route through the mountains, and surprised the convoy, in fancied security, only seven miles from William's camp. Suddenly Sarsfield and his cavalry swooped down upon the sentinels, whom they sabered at their posts, and rushed the guards, who, half dressed and confused, fled in terror or were speedily slain.

Sarsfield hastened to improve his advantage. He loaded their cannon to the muzzles and buried them deep in earth, heaping over them stones and wagons. He then laid a train to the whole, and drawing off his men fired it on his retreat. The terrific explosion was heard at a distance of several miles. The ground shook as from an earthquake and the roar was heard in William's camp and in Limerick.

A detachment of 500 horse under Sir John Lanier, sent by William to meet his convoy, only arrived in time to find the cannon burst with their own powder and Sarsfield's troopers disappearing in the darkness. This success greatly emboldened the besieged and raised Sarsfield to the greatest degree of popularity, while William's army, to the lowest rank, felt the depression of so unexpected a blow. William had to wait until he could bring up more cannon from Waterford. A week later, however, a new siege train arrived and poured redhot shot on the devoted city. After an incessant fire of several days the wall at length began to yield, a practicable breach being made near St. John's gate.

A strong storming party was formed of British guards, supported by Dutch, Danes and Prussians. At the signal the guards leaped from their intrench-



ments and rushed towards the breach, firing their muskets as they ran. The Irish on the walls opened on them a perfect hailstorm of shot; William's batteries answered with a heavy fire to divert the attention of the garrison; the storming party hurried on and was soon engaged hand to hand with the enemy outside of the breach. The guards forced their way and part of them entered the town, but the Irish closed their ranks behind them and effectually checked the further progress of the invaders.

The citizens and soldiers fell on their enemies in overwhelming numbers, and only a few, desperately wounded, succeeded in cutting their way back to their ranks. The breach was again assailed and again defended with the same determined gallantry as before. The Irish troops fought with savage desperation.

Crowds of women mingled with the garrison in the hottest of the fight, hurling stones and bottles at the foe, and conducted themselves as bravely as the men. For four hours the contest was continued with almost unequalled obstinacy. A battalion of Prussians took possession of an Irish battery, but at that moment a magazine exploded and they were all destroyed. The storming party which had made its way into the town was driven out, and William, seeing that success was hopeless, sounded the retreat, after having lost in the assault 2,000 of his best men.

His ammunition exhausted and the rainy season setting in, William saw clearly that it was absolutely necessary to retreat. He, therefore, four days later, led away his diminished army, accompanied by a melancholy train of Protestants, who dared remain no longer in their former homes, as they were almost wholly without protection from the indiscriminate ravages of William's unrestrained

troops. "The excesses of William's army during this retreat can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of war."

Having conducted his army to Clonmel, William hastened to Duncannon and embarked for England, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark. He intrusted the command of the army in Ireland to Count de Solmes and General de Ginkell.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

### THE SECOND SIEGE OF ATHLONE.

The siege of Limerick had lasted three weeks. The heroic defenders had little ammunition or munitions of war, and with crumbling old walls for a defense, repulsed a well-equipped veteran army, directed by a great general, who never before had been baffled by any fortress, however strong.

Lauzan and Tirconnell, who were at the time in Galway, were doubtless displeased to hear of the successful defense of Limerick, which they had declared untenable and deserted in its time of need, and fearing the displeasure of King Louis they both embarked for France in order to be the first to explain the situation to him. In September, 1690, Cork surrendered, after a brave struggle, to the skillful generalship of John Churchill, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Marlborough, and Kinsale soon followed. The capture of these two important places ended the campaign of 1690.

No military event of importance took place in Ireland for several months after the siege of Limerick, except the capture of Cork and Kinsale; and now the opposing armies desisted from active operations till the spring. However, irregular warfare was carried on with little intermission all over the country, from Cavan southward, by detached parties of William's forces, which were resisted everywhere with varying success, partly by detachments of Irish regular troops and partly by bands of rapparees, or irregular volunteers, who were looked

upon as mere robbers by the English officers and were hanged whenever caught.

The account left us of the mode of warfare during the winter of 1690-91 and the numerous conflicts and daily executions by William's forces, and of the general state of the country, is a fearful record of bloodshed and misery. Half of the island was held for King William and half for King James. Ulster, most of Leinster, and half of Munster were in the hands of the former, while the province of Connaught and the counties of Kerry, Clare and Limerick, and a portion of the midlands, were occupied by the Irish.

William's foreign mercenaries, with pay in arrears, lived in free quarters on the farmers and peasantry and laughed at the royal orders for protection. The Irish country people fled with their cattle from the English to the Irish districts. During the long winter bands of Irish rapparees raided the English quarters, burning and robbing the restored homesteads of the latter. Nothing could exceed the boldness and skill with which they eluded the English patrols, spreading terror almost to the walls of Dublin.

Tirconnell, who had sailed from Galway to France after the siege of Limerick, returned with some money and stores in February, 1691, and as he was King James' lord-lieutenant he resumed authority. In May a French fleet sailed up the Shannon with provisions, clothing and military stores, but with no men or money, bringing General St. Ruth, a brave and experienced French officer, but cruel, haughty and vain, to take command of the Irish army, by direction of King James.

It doubtless would have been better if James had given the command to Sarsfield, who was at least as good an officer, and who had a cooler head, as well as a perfect knowledge of the country and

the people. But James and his party treated Sarsfield as the Anglo-Irish majority of the confederation had treated Owen Roe O'Neill half a century before. Both of these great soldiers were kept in the background through jealousy, and in each case those responsible suffered for it in the end. Yet the Irish, though dissatisfied, obeyed the king's order and fought loyally under St. Ruth, while Sarsfield himself was too high principled to endanger the cause by offering any opposition.

After the failure at Limerick the next attempt was made on Athlone, which was almost equally important, and in June De Ginkell appeared before it with an army of 18,000 men. The main body of the Irish was encamped on the Connaught side, about a mile west of the town. They were commanded by St. Ruth, commander-in-chief, and Sarsfield was second in command.

When Douglas had hastily abandoned Athlone the previous year he left the walls of the English town standing. The Irish were now again in possession, but the wall offered only a feeble resistance to De Ginkell's heavy guns, and after some battering a great breach was made. Four thousand men advanced to the assault. The breach was defended by about 400 Irish, who kept the assailants at bay for some time, but worn out at last from fatigue and want of sleep, they were forced to retire across the bridge after losing half their number and De Ginkell took possession of the English town. On the evening of that day St. Ruth took measures to defend the Irish town. He had some earthworks thrown up along the banks of the river, and behind these and in the castle the Irish took their stand. They still held possession of the greater part of the bridge. But the enemy's cannon, firing night and day, battered to pieces the earthworks and part of the castle, and the numerous thatched houses were



set on fire, so that this part of the town was reduced to a mere heap of rubbish, and the Irish had hardly any protection and no means of answering the heavy continuous fire of the enemy.

De Ginkell now sent a party to attempt to cross the Shannon at Lanesborough, but the Irish successfully resisted the passage and it had to return. De Ginkell, foiled at Lanesborough, tried to force his way across the bridge and for several days there was desperate fighting in the narrow passage, so that the enemy, though greatly outnumbering their opponents, were only able to advance inch by inch. At last, by mere pressure of numbers, the besiegers obtained possession of the greater part of the bridge, though not till many of them had been killed, whereupon the defenders abandoned it, breaking down one arch at the Connaught side.

To repair that broken arch was now De Ginkell's task. His artillery having been turned on the western bank, so that, as one of the spectators of the Irish army tells us, "a cat could scarce appear without being knocked on the head by great and small shot," a party under cover of a rude wooden shelter dragged a number of planks along the bridge and succeeded in throwing them across the chasm, and De Ginkell's men were enabled to step forward on their perilous journey.

At this moment a volunteer party of eleven Irish rushed forward and began to pull down the planks and hurl them into the river beneath, but they were met by a volley from the enemy's lines, and when the smoke had cleared away every man of the little band was seen lying dead or wounded. On the instant another party of eleven, undaunted by the fate of their comrades, stepped forward, and dashing in succeeded in tearing down the remaining planks, but again the deadly fire did its work and nine of the eleven fell.

Thus foiled, De Ginkell made another attempt by constructing a long wooden shed, which was filled with his soldiers and pushed across the narrow bridgeway, but the Irish managed to set it on fire, after which he gave up all idea of forcing his way across the bridge. An incessant cannonade had been kept up for ten days, yet the capture of the town seemed as far off as ever.

A council of war was now held and De Ginkell, in despair, proposed to raise the siege, for provisions were running low, but his generals prevailed on him to make another effort. The season had been unusually dry and it was found that the river could be forded, though at great risk, a short distance below the bridge. Here it was resolved to make an attempt to cross.

St. Ruth had received warning from a deserter of the intended attempt, but in his over-confidence he scoffed at it, feeling assured that, after the successful defense of the bridge, no other attempt need be feared. From the beginning he believed the passage of the river impossible. He was earnestly urged by Sarsfield and others to take precautions, but to no effect. Having sent a small party of untrained recruits to guard the deep ford, he retired to his camp two miles away.

On the evening of the last day of June a volunteer party of picked men dashed into the ford at the stroke of a bell. At the same moment all of the enemy's batteries opened on Athlone, wrapping the river in smoke and distracting the attention of the besieged. The picked men plunged into the deep and rapid river with great resolution, made their way across through fire and smoke, and, landing with little opposition, some of them laid planks over the broken arch, while others fixed boats that had been kept ready so as to form another complete bridge.

The small force of Irish had been taken by surprise and in less than half an hour De Ginkell's men were masters of the town. Thus Athlone was captured almost within sight of the Irish army, when a little care and vigilance would have rendered the fording of the river impossible.

After the fight was over the body of the veteran Colonel Richard Grace, the heroic governor of Athlone, was found under the ruins of the castle.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### THE BATTLE OF AUGHRIM—SECOND SIEGE OF LIMERICK—THE TREATY OF LIMERICK.

The Irish officers so bitterly reproached St. Ruth for the loss of Athlone that he became alarmed, and fearing the displeasure of his master, King Louis, resolved to stake all on the result of a pitched battle.

Falling back on the village of Aughrim, in Galway, he determined to make a stand there, and with good judgment he selected an excellent position along the hill near Aughrim, with a sluggish stream and morass in front, which was impassable for cavalry but might be crossed by infantry. At either end was a narrow pass through the bog, well guarded. The slope of the hill in front, down to the morass, was intersected by fences, which were lined with Irish marksmen.

Early on the morning of July 12 De Ginkell's army, consisting of British, French, Danes and Dutch, set out from its encampment at Ballinasloe and towards noon drew up in battle array on the heights near the morass, opposite the Irish position. There were about 20,000 men on either side. De Ginkell attempted to force the pass at the Irish right, but was resisted with great spirit, the numbers engaged at this point increasing by accessions every moment until what was at first a skirmish became a battle.

The assailants, repulsed, came on again and again, and at last forced their way through the

pass, but were attacked with such fury that they were driven back in confusion. During the day attack after attack on the Irish right or left was repulsed and the assailants were about to retire in despair.

At length a large body was sent against the Irish right with the object of drawing St. Ruth's forces from that pass to the one on the left. The plan succeeded, for large bodies of the Irish were withdrawn from the left to help defend the right pass, on which De Ginkell gave orders for a general advance. One body moved through the pass on his right and the main body of infantry through the morass in the center, in front of St. Ruth's main army. The pass was defended with great gallantry, and while the fight was hottest here De Ginkell's main body succeeded in crossing the stream and morass. It fought its way steadily up the hill, but at last a terrible onslaught from the fences forced it to fall back.

Again and again the assailants advanced, and each time they were driven back. A general rout seemed imminent. St. Ruth, elated, waved his hat and exclaimed: "The day is ours. Now we will drive them back to the walls of Dublin!" But immediately afterwards, while riding down the hill to give some orders, he was struck by a cannon ball, which took off his head. This changed the fortunes of the day. No one knew what orders to give, for St. Ruth had let none of his officers into his confidence. Sarsfield might have retrieved the disaster, but St. Ruth had kept him at the head of some horse in the rear, with directions not to move without express orders, and it was not until some time later that he was aware of the fall of St. Ruth and the success of the enemy.

After this the only service Sarsfield was able to render was to help cover the retreat of the Irish in-



fantry after the battle. Even after the death of St. Ruth the contest was bravely maintained for a time, but with little aim or method. As each troop and battalion now acted independently, their evolutions soon interfered with each other. Cavalry became mixed with infantry and before the day closed their retreat became a rout. They were pursued with merciless slaughter.

Before the death of St. Ruth the Irish loss was very small, while that of the enemy had been large. About 4,000 of the former were killed and wounded and 3,000 of the latter littered the field. Five thousand prisoners were taken, and in proportion to the number engaged this was the most destructive battle in the whole war. Galway submitted late in July and Sligo, the last Western garrison, surrendered in September, both on favorable terms, their garrisons being allowed to march out with all the honors of war, retiring on Limerick.

De Ginkell, after his victory at Aughrim, marched southward for another attempt on Limerick. Tirconnell proceeded to put the city in a state of defense, but he died of apoplexy on the 14th of August, when the chief command devolved upon Sarsfield. On the 25th of August the second siege began. De Ginkell's first operation was a bombardment with sixty cannon and nineteen mortars, from which were poured bombshells and redhot balls and soon the city was on fire in several places. By some extraordinary negligence, or treachery on the part of an Irish officer, De Ginkell was enabled to construct a pontoon bridge across the river above the city and to send a detachment to occupy the Clare side.

September 22 an attack was made on the fort on the Clare end of Thomond bridge, which was for a time bravely defended, till at last, overpowered by numbers, the Irish were forced to retreat across the

bridge. A French officer who commanded at Thomond gate, fearful lest the enemy should enter pell-mell with the Irish, ordered the drawbridge to be raised, and in consequence his comrades were either cut to pieces or flung into the water by the pursuers. This was the last battle of the war. On the 24th a truce of three days was agreed upon. Both sides were anxious to end hostilities. De Ginkell saw no prospect of being able to take the city in a reasonable time. To capture it at once by assault he considered impossible, and he was in great distress for provisions, hence if there was any further delay he must either raise the siege or starve. The rainy season was sure to bring pestilence among his troops, and at the same time it was rumored that aid was coming from France, the arrival of which might prolong the struggle indefinitely.

For these reasons De Ginkell was anxious to end the war and willing to grant any reasonable terms. Sarsfield, on his part, saw no hope in further unaided resistance. On the 3rd of October, 1691, the famous Treaty of Limerick was signed by De Ginkell and the English lords-justices and by Sarsfield and others, and it was confirmed by King William soon afterwards. This ended the War of the Revolution and William and Mary were acknowledged sovereigns of Ireland. A few days later a French fleet entered the Shannon, bringing military stores and reinforcements more than sufficient to have turned the tide of victory.

Some of the Irish officers now favored breaking the treaty and going on with the war, but Sarsfield indignantly refused to violate his solemn agreement. The French fleet accordingly sailed for Brest, with as many soldiers of the Irish army as it could accommodate.

The Treaty of Limerick consisted of two parts, one civil, the other military. The military articles

agreed upon permitted all officers and privates to embark with their families and goods to any place except England and Scotland, passports and transports being provided for them. De Ginkell was anxious to enlist the Irish troops in the service of William, but only 1,000 joined, and 2,000 received passes for their homes. The remainder, in all about 20,000 officers and men, were shipped to France and entered the service of King Louis. Some went on board the French fleet; some, under Sarsfield, sailed from Cork, and the rest departed in English ships provided by the government.

On their arrival in France they were incorporated with the 5,000 men who, under General Justin McCarthy, had been exchanged for a like number of French troops under Lauzan, and were formed into the famous Irish Brigade. These soldiers, recruited from time to time from Ireland and always led by Irish officers, were of the best in the French army. They bore the brunt of battle in various campaigns and dealt many a heavy blow at the prestige of England, notably at Landen, Almanza and Fontenoy. So steadily was the recruiting of this brigade carried on, it has been computed that between 1691 and 1745 no less than 450,000 Irish soldiers died in the service of France.

Sarsfield, after brilliant service, fell mortally wounded in the moment of victory at the battle of Landen, where he commanded the left wing of the French army. There was at this time, and long afterwards, a great exodus of the flower of the Irish people to the continent. Many who, had they remained at home, would have lived in obscurity and degradation, attained positions of influence and power in almost every country in Europe, in the civil, military and diplomatic service.

The civil articles of the Treaty of Limerick guaranteed the Catholics of Ireland civil and relig-

ious liberty and the restoration, to those in arms for King James, of the estates they possessed in the time of Charles II. These articles, which Sarsfield hoped would prove the magna charta of his coreligionists, were shamefully violated by the party in power, which was not to be restrained by the faith of treaties or the obligations of sovereigns.

“Though the history of William’s twelve years’ reign is a history of proscription in Ireland, the king himself is answerable only as a consenting party to such proscription. He was neither by temper nor policy a persecutor; his allies were Spain, Austria and Rome; he had thousands of Catholics in his own army, and he gave his confidence as freely to brave and capable men of one creed as of another. But the oligarchy, calling itself the ‘Protestant Ascendancy,’ backed as they were by all the religious intolerance of England, proved too strong for his good intentions.”

A parliament met in Dublin in October, 1692, a year after the conclusion of the war. It was overwhelmingly Protestant, and almost the first thing done was to frame an oath, to be taken by all members of both Houses, that the chief doctrines of the Catholic Church were false, though an article in the treaty provided that the Catholics should be required to take only the oath of allegiance. Lord Sydney, representing the sovereigns, opposed the measure, but it was carried, whereupon the Catholics of both Houses walked out, and thus the Irish Parliament in 1692 assumed that exclusively Protestant character which it maintained till its end in 1800.

Four thousand of the Irish were outlawed and nearly 2,000,000 acres confiscated. In less than a century there had been three great confiscations in Ireland, the old proprietors in practically all cases being dispossessed—the first after the Geraldine and O’Neill wars; the second in the time of Crom-

well; and the third after the war between William and James.

These confiscations embraced virtually the whole island, excepting only the estates of half a dozen families of English blood. Sometimes the confiscations overlapped, so that large tracts were confiscated two or three times within that period. As the result, it is estimated that at the death of King William in 1702 only a seventh of the land of Ireland was in the hands of Catholics.



## CHAPTER XLVIII.

### THE PENAL LAWS.

The state of Ireland at the conclusion of the war with William was incomparably wretched. It had been desolated from end to end by the opposing armies. The unfortunate farmers who remained had been ruined by the requisitions both of the Irish troops and the foreign mercenaries. In many sections it had been impossible to sow grain; in most parts the herds had been destroyed; and the loss of both crops and cattle brought the people to the verge of famine.

In the towns the merchants had lost heavily by the issue of James' base coin and the complete cessation of commerce. The government was now absolutely in the hands of the small Protestant minority. The Irish Parliament, bound as it was by Poynings' act to the parliament of England, in so far as it represented anything, was representative of the English colony in Ireland, which owned nearly all the soil of the island, monopolized every office of trust and remuneration, the Commission of the Peace and the seats in the town councils.

It had fastened its grip firmly on Ireland, and lest at any time the Catholic majority should again get control, the English colony and the English authorities, which had labored strenuously to maintain their ascendancy, determined that the land of Ireland should never again pass into Catholic hands and that every effort should be made to stamp out the ancient faith.

With this object in view a number of acts were passed by the Irish Parliament during the reign of William and Anne of a character altogether unparalleled and in flagrant violation of the Treaty of Limerick. The Irish Catholics were now crushed and dispirited. They were quite helpless, for their best men had gone into voluntary exile and all hope of resistance was at an end.

The Treaty of Limerick remained, yet the Irish Parliament, with the full concurrence of the English authorities, refused to carry out its more important provisions, though it had been solemnly guaranteed, first by De Ginkell and the Irish lords-justices and then by William himself. The violation of the treaty greatly displeased the king, who wished to keep his part of the agreement, as Sarsfield had done when he refused to admit the French fleet, for William was not disposed to oppress any one on account of his religion.

Before the War of the Revolution many penal laws against the Irish Catholics were enacted, with the main object of compelling them to abandon their religion and to adopt the doctrines and forms of the reformation, but they were passed only at long intervals and the authorities were not always anxious, or able, to have them enforced. But after the war enactments came in quick succession, growing more and more severe as time went on, till they reached their worst phases in the early years of the reign of Queen Anne and under George II., and it appears that they were generally enforced.

The Irish Parliament of 1692 led the way by framing an oath to exclude Catholics, contrary to the ninth article of the treaty. But the really active penal legislation was entered upon by the parliament which met in Dublin in 1695. The first proceeding was the introduction of a "bill for the confirmation of the articles of the Treaty of Limer-

ick," which confirmed all the minor provisions of the treaty, but omitted the important ones. Having thus accomplished what amounted to a rejection of the treaty, this parliament passed a number of restrictive laws during the sessions of 1692 and 1697.

These oppressive laws were mostly the work of the Irish Parliament, but the English Parliament sometimes lent its aid. The penal laws remained in full force in Ireland for nearly three-quarters of a century, when they were gradually relaxed. The more oppressive of the enactments were repealed, one by one, till, with few exceptions, the emancipation act of 1829 put an end to the disabilities of Irish Catholics.

Justin H. McCarthy says: "Under these penal laws Catholics could not sit in the Irish Parliament or vote members to it. They were excluded from the army and navy, the corporations, the magistracy, the bar, the bench, the grand juries and the vestries. They could not be sheriffs or soldiers, gamekeepers or constables. They were forbidden to own any arms, and any two justices or sheriffs might at any time issue a search warrant for arms. The discovery of any kind of weapon rendered its Catholic owner liable to fine, imprisonment, whipping or the pillory.

"They could not own a horse worth more than five pounds, and any Protestant tendering that sum could compel his Catholic neighbor to sell his steed. No education whatever was allowed to Catholics. A Catholic could not go to the university; he might not be the guardian of a child; he might not keep a school, or send his children to be educated abroad, or teach himself. No Catholic might buy land, or inherit, or receive it as a gift from Protestants, or hold life annuities or leases for more than thirty-one years, or any lease on such terms as that the profits

of the land exceeded one-third the value of the land. If a Catholic purchased an estate, the first Protestant who informed against him became its proprietor. The eldest son of a Catholic, upon apostatizing, became heir at law to the whole estate of his father, and reduced his father to the position of a mere life tenant.

“A wife who apostatized was immediately freed from her husband’s control and assigned a certain proportion of her husband’s property. Any child, however young, who professed to be a Protestant, was at once taken from his father’s care, and a certain proportion of his father’s property assigned to him. In fact, the Catholics were excluded, in their own country, from every profession, from every government office from the highest to the lowest, and from almost every duty or privilege of a citizen. It was laid down from the bench by Lord-Chancellor Bowes and Chief Justice Robinson that ‘the law does not suppose any such person to exist as an Irish Roman Catholic,’ and proclaimed from the pulpit by Dopping, Bishop of Meath, that Protestants were not bound to keep faith with papists. We are reminded, as we read, of Judge Taney’s famous decision in the American Dred Scott case, that a black man had no rights which a white man was bound to respect. Happily, humanity and civilization are in the end too much for the Doppings and Taneyes. It is hard for a more enlightened age to believe that such laws as these were ever passed, or, being passed, were ever practiced. It was well said that the penal code could not have been practiced in hell or it would have overturned the kingdom of Beelzebub. But these laws, by which the child was taught to behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honorable, were rigorously enforced in Ireland. The records of the House of Lords are full of the vain appeals of Cath-



olic gentlemen against their dispossession by some claimant, perhaps an unworthy member of their family, perhaps a bitter enemy, and perhaps a hitherto unknown 'discoverer,' who had put on the guise of ostentatious Protestantism as a cloak for plunder. In often-quoted, often-to-be-quoted words, Burke, in later years, denounced the penal code for its 'vicious perfection.' 'For,' said he, 'I must do it justice: it was a complete system, full of coherence and consistency, well digested and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.'

"It is encouraging to think that even under such laws the spirit of the people was not wholly annihilated. The country clung to its proscribed faith; the ministers of that faith braved shame and persecution and death in their unswerving allegiance to their scattered flocks. They fought bravely against the oppression which would have enforced ignorance and all its attendant evils upon an unhappy people. When no Catholic might open a school, the priests established what were known as hedge schools. By the roadside and on the hillside, in ditches and behind hedges, the children of the people cowered about their pastors, fearfully and eagerly striving to attain that knowledge which the harsh laws denied them.

"In one other instance the penal laws failed. They could take away the Catholic's land, his horse, his life; they could hang his priests and burn his place of worship; they could refuse him all education; they could deny him all rights before the law except the right to be robbed and hanged; but they could not compel him to change his faith, and they



could not succeed in making every Protestant in Ireland a willing creature of the new code.

“By the code, any marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant was, by the fact of the husband and wife being of opposite faiths, null and void, without any process of law whatever. A man might leave his wife, or a woman her husband, after twenty years of marriage, in such a case, and bring a legal bastardy on all their offspring. But, for the sake of human honor, it is consolatory to remember that the instances in which this ever occurred were very rare. The law might sanction the basest treachery, but it is not able to make its subjects treacherous.”

## CHAPTER XLIX.

### THE COMMERCIAL LAWS.

The penal laws applied mainly to Catholics, but the repressive commercial code oppressed Irishmen of all creeds. Ireland had a good climate, a fertile soil and a fair supply of minerals, and towards the end of the 17th century, in spite of the late war and other troubles, several branches of manufacture, trade and commerce were flourishing. But the traders and merchants of England fancied that the prosperity of Ireland was a loss to them by drawing away custom, and in their shortsighted and selfish jealousy they persuaded the English Parliament to enact laws that ruined almost the entire industries of Ireland.

This sort of legislation was generally the work of the English Parliament, but sometimes the Irish Parliament followed in the same direction, in obedience to orders, and passed acts which impoverished their own country. Religion had little or nothing to do with these proceedings, which is all the more to be wondered at, seeing that the blow fell chiefly on the Protestants, for at this time the general body of the Catholics were barely able to live and could do very little as a class in the way of industries. But the English traders cared nothing for this. They wanted to destroy Irish trade for their own gain, and whether the ruin fell on Protestants or Catholics was a matter of indifference to them.

Irish traders had been in the habit of exporting goods of various kinds to different foreign countries,

especially to the British colonies in all parts of the world, and as Ireland was a fine grazing country, a prosperous business was also carried on with England by the exportation of cattle. An end, however, was put to this, for the English Parliament, from 1663 to 1680, passed several measures prohibiting Irish traders from exporting any goods to, or importing from, the British colonies, and the export of cattle, sheep, hogs, beef, pork, mutton, butter and cheese to England was stopped altogether. Thus the chief Irish industry was ruined and the people, being deprived of a market for the products of their farms, sank rapidly into poverty.

Driven from cattle raising, they applied themselves to other industries, especially to raising wool, for which the country was well suited. Irish wool was considered the best in Europe, and notwithstanding the repressive measures of Wentworth, under Charles I., the wool industry, which was carried on almost exclusively by the Protestant colonists, began to flourish again and was rising rapidly to great national importance.

This business, too, was doomed. The English cloth dealers and landowners, in 1698, petitioned to have it suppressed, and King William, in his speech from the throne, promised to discourage the Irish wool trade, to encourage the Irish linen trade and to promote the trade of England. The English Parliament also professed to encourage the Irish linen industry, for it did not compete with England, as flax growing and the manufacture of linen did not flourish in that country. The result of the agitation against the Irish woollen trade was that in 1699 the servile parliament of Ireland, acting under directions from England, put a high export duty on all wool and woollen goods.

The English Parliament followed up this measure by passing an act prohibiting the Irish from

exporting either wool or woollen goods to any part of the world, except to a few specified seaport towns in England, and they were forbidden to ship woollens even to these, except from Dublin, Cork and four other seaports. These acts ruined the Irish wool trade. The heavy duty imposed obliged the merchants to put so high a price on their goods that they found it impossible to sell them in England, the result intended by the lawmakers. The woollen mills were shut down, the workers were discharged, and the buildings went to ruin.

Thousands of working people were thus made idle and reduced to poverty, and 20,000 Protestants emigrated to New England. Then began the steady emigration, for lack of employment, that continues to the present day.

As usually happens when goods are produced on which there are prohibitive duties, smuggling was resorted to. Wool became so plentiful in Ireland that it sold for almost nothing in the home market, while it brought a good price in France. This was an incentive for the people to smuggle—to send out cargoes secretly to avoid paying the customs duties, and the smugglers, returning, brought in goods on which duties should have been paid.

Almost every vessel returned with wines, silks and other merchandise, and landed in remote places on the coast, to elude the customs officers. Many of the articles could be bought cheaply in France and sold at a good profit at home, so that smuggling was a very profitable business in those days. Few cared to interfere, as thousands of the Irish of all classes profited by it. Protestants and Catholics, almost the entire population, were in active combination against the law. The government was powerless to stop this business, which flourished for a long time all along the coast—a natural result of unjust and unwise legislation.

A large proportion of the limited capital left in Ireland was sent to absentee landlords in England by middlemen, who in turn exacted the last farthing from the wretched cotters, and this constant drain aggravated greatly the poverty caused by lack of employment. During the 18th century the peasantry of Ireland were the most poverty-stricken in Europe. But the evil consequences of these unjust civil laws did not end with the 18th century, for afterwards, when the restrictions were removed and trade partially revived, the remedy came too late. Some branches of manufacture and trade had been ruined and others permanently injured. The trade in wool and woolens, which was kept down for nearly a century, never recovered its former state of prosperity. In consequence of this prohibitive legislation Ireland, at the present time, has few manufactories and little commerce, the people depending mainly on the land for subsistence; and this, by increasing the competition for land, has intensified the land troubles.



## CHAPTER L.

### THE IRISH SOLDIERS ABROAD.

"The close of the second reign from the siege of Limerick imposes the duty of casting our eyes over the map of Europe in quest of those gallant exiles whom we have seen, in tens of thousands, submitting to the hard necessity of expatriation," says McGee.

"Many of the Meath and Leinster Irish, under native commanders, the Kavanaghs and Nugents, carried their swords into the service of William's ally, the Emperor of Austria, and distinguished themselves in all the campaigns of Prince Eugene. Spain attracted to her standard the Irish of the Northwest, the O'Donnells, the O'Reillys and O'Garas, whose regiments, during more than one reign, continued to be known by names of Ulster origin. In 1707 the great battle of Almanza, which decided the Spanish succession, was determined by O'Mahony's foot and Fitzjames' Irish horse. The next year Spain had five Irish regiments in her regular army, three of foot and two of dragoons, under the command of Lacy, Lawless, Wogan, O'Reilly and O'Gara.

"But it was in France that the Irish served in the greatest number and made the most impressive history for themselves and their descendants. The recruiting agents of France had long been in the habit of crossing the narrow seas and bringing back the stalwart sons of the western island to serve their ambitious kings in every corner of the continent.

An Irish troop of horse served, in 1652, under Turenne, against the great Conde. In the campaigns of 1673, 1674 and 1675, under Turenne, two or three Irish regiments were in every engagement along the Rhine. At Altenheim their commander, Count Hamilton, was created a major-general of France. In 1690 these old regiments, with the six new ones sent over by James, were formed into a brigade, and from 1690 to 1693 they went through the campaigns of Savoy and Italy, under Marshal Catinat, against Prince Eugene. Justin McCarthy, Lord Mountcashel, who commanded them, died at Bareges of wounds received at Staffardo. At Marsiglia they routed, in 1693, the allies, killing Duke Schomberg, son of the Huguenot general who fell at the Boyne.

"In the war of the Spanish succession the remnants of both brigades, consolidated into one, served under their favorite leader, the Marshal Duke of Berwick, through nearly all his campaigns in Belgium, Spain and Germany. The third Lord Clare, afterwards Field Marshal Count Thomond, was by the duke's side at Phillipsburg in 1733 when he received his death wound from the explosion of a mine.

"These exiled Clare O'Briens commanded for three generations their famous family regiment of dragoons. The first who followed King James abroad died of wounds received at the battle of Ramillies; the third, with better fortune, outlived for nearly thirty years the glorious day of Fontenoy, where, after a day's hard fighting, victory seemed to declare so clearly against France that King Louis, who was present, prepared for flight. At this moment Marshal Saxe ordered a final charge by the seven Irish regiments, under Counts Dillon and Thomond. The tide of battle turned, beyond expectation, to the cry of 'Remember Limerick!'

France was delivered, England checked and Holland reduced from a first to a second rate power. The Irish cavalry regiments in the service of France were Sheldon's, Galmoy's, Clare's and Killmallock's; the infantry were known as the regiments of Dublin, Charlemont, Limerick and Athlone. There were two other infantry regiments, known as Luttrell's and Dorrington's, and a regiment of Irish marines, of which the Grand Prior, Fitzjames, was colonel. During the latter years of Louis XIV. there could not have been less, at any one time, than from 20,000 to 30,000 Irish in his armies, and during the entire century, authentic documents exist to prove that 450,000 natives of Ireland died in the service of France.

"In the dreary reigns of William, Anne and the two first Georges the pride and courage of the disarmed and disinherited population, abiding at home, drew new life and vigor from the exploits of their exiled brethren. The channel smuggler and the vagrant ballad singer kept alive their fame for the lower class of the population, while the memoirs of Marlborough and Eugene, issuing from the Dublin press, communicated authentic accounts of their actions to the more prejudiced or better educated. The blows they struck at Landen, at Cremona and at Almanza were sensibly felt by every British statesman; when, in the bitterness of defeat, an English king cursed 'the laws that deprived him of such subjects,' the doom of the penal code was pronounced.

"The high character of the captains of these famous brigades was not confined to the field of battle. At Paris, Vienna and Madrid their wit and courtesy raised them to the favor of princes, over the jealousy of all their rivals. Important civil and diplomatic offices were intrusted to them—embassys of peace and war—the government of provinces,

and the highest administrative offices of the state. While their kinsmen in Ireland were declared incapable of filling the humblest public employments or of exercising the commonest franchise, they met British ambassadors abroad as equals, and checked or countermined the imperial policy of Great Britain.

“It was impossible that such a contrast of situations should not attract the attention of all thinking men! It was impossible that such reputations should shine before all Europe without reacting powerfully upon the fallen fortunes of Ireland.”

## CHAPTER LI.

### THE STRUGGLE OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

The proceedings of the Irish Parliament and the political history of Ireland during the 18th century have reference almost solely to the Protestant portion of the country, and the struggle of the Irish Legislature for independence was the struggle of the Protestants alone.

The Catholics had no power to take part in these contests, as they were debarred from membership in parliament; nor could they even vote for a member of that body. They kept almost wholly silent during the first half of the century, believing that the less attention they drew to themselves the better, for they knew not the moment they might be visited with further crushing enactments. The Protestants of the Irish Patriotic party strove for the rights of the Protestants only.

Molyneux, Swift, Lucas, Flood and many other patriotic leaders were against granting political liberty to Catholics. Burke and Grattan were almost the only eminent Protestants of the first three-quarters of the 18th century who took a broader view and advocated the right of the Irish Catholics to be placed on terms of equality with the Protestants. The high government officials in Ireland, from the lord-lieutenant down, were nearly all Englishmen, with only a few Irishmen with English sympathies. These formed what may be called the government party, and they were in favor of English ascendancy, being always ready to carry out the wishes of



the king and the English Parliament, and as, by the various means at their disposal (pensions, positions and titles), they were nearly always able to have a majority, the English interest was all-powerful in the Irish Parliament.

But among a thoughtful section of Irish Protestants, who had the interests of their own country, or at least the Protestant portion of it, at heart, the unjust laws that destroyed the industries of Ireland and brought ruin and poverty to her people to enrich English traders and landowners, and the appointment of Englishmen to all important posts, to the exclusion of natives, provoked feelings of resentment and distrust towards the English government and kindled a sentiment of patriotism which became more and more intense as time went on. They were at first represented in parliament by a small, but able, opposition, and in time came to be called Patriots, or the Patriotic or Popular party.

Some of these, it is true, were selfish and without principle, and made themselves troublesome merely to induce the government to buy them off with good situations or pensions. But there always were men of a different stamp, like Molyneux and Grattan, who, so far as possible, resisted all dictation and encroachment on the privileges of the Irish Parliament or the rights and liberties of their countrymen. They had constantly in view two objects: to remove the ruinous restrictions on trade and commerce and to make the Irish Parliament, so far as lay in their power, independent.

It was the unjust trade laws and the preferment of Englishmen over the Irish that gave birth to the Irish Patriotic party and brought to the front its great leaders, both in and out of parliament. Gradually, year by year, they gained in strength and ultimately carried their main point against the government, but it was a long and bitter struggle.

Sometimes, in cases of unusual provocation, it happened that not only the small party of Patriots but the great majority of the Irish members were roused to successful resistance in spite of the influence of the English party.

The struggle between these two parties forms the chief feature in the political history of Ireland during the greater part of the 18th century. In 1698 William Molyneux, member of parliament for the University of Dublin, a man of scientific eminence, published his famous book, "The Case of Ireland," in which he denounced the commercial injustice done to his country, traced the growth of the Irish Parliament, and maintained it was independent of that of England and had a right to make its own laws. The book was received in England with great indignation and parliament, pronouncing it to be dangerous, ordered it publicly burned by the hangman.

But the powerful statement of Molyneux, though it gave his countrymen a much-needed lesson, did not bring about immediate reform, for the next year after its publication came the crushing act destroying the Irish woolen industry. A few years later the bitter feelings excited in Ireland by these restrictive laws were greatly intensified by a dispute between the Irish and English Houses of Lords on the question of jurisdiction. The Irish peers having reversed a judgment of the Irish Court of Exchequer, an appeal was taken to the English House, which affirmed the judgment.

The dispute was ended in 1719 by the English Parliament passing the act known as "The Sixth of George I.," which not only deprived the Irish House of Lords of the right to hear appeals, but also declared that the parliament of England had the authority to make laws for Ireland. This act now, for the first time, asserted this right and took

away what little independence the Poynings law had left, reducing the power of the Irish Parliament to a mere shadow.

The task of opposing the government party by speech and pen was not left entirely with members of parliament. There were men equally able and active outside, of whom the most brilliant was Swift, the celebrated dean of St. Patrick's, in Dublin. He was naturally indignant at the destruction of Irish industries for the benefit of English merchants and landowners, and in 1720 he wrote an essay encouraging the Irish people to retaliate by rejecting all clothing and furniture made in England and using that of home manufacture only—an essay that so enraged the authorities of both countries that, although there was nothing illegal in the proposal, the government prosecuted the printer, but failed to have him punished, notwithstanding the browbeating efforts of the servile judge who tried the case.

It was, however, Swift's pen, in "Wood's Halfpence," that brought him into the greatest prominence. In 1723 the English government, without consulting the Irish authorities, granted a patent for the coinage of £108,000 in base-metal halfpence and farthings to the king's favorite, the Duchess of Kendal, who sold the patent to William Wood, an English iron merchant, a transaction which would bring an immense profit to the duchess and Wood. This infamous action created intense indignation and alarm in Ireland. The Patriots vehemently attacked and exposed it in parliament and the two Irish Houses addressed the king, representing that the base coin would diminish revenue and destroy business and commerce, and many pamphlets and caricatures were circulated in Dublin attacking and ridiculing Wood's halfpence. But the patent was pressed by powerful friends at

court, and undoubtedly would have succeeded but for Swift. He wrote and had printed several letters, with the signature "W. B. Drapier," pointing out in simple, vigorous language that all could understand, the evils which he claimed would result from the coinage.

These coins were so bad, he said, that if a lady went shopping she would have to bring with her a cart loaded with the new money; that a farmer would have to employ three horses to carry his rent to his landlord, and that even the very beggars would be ruined. Already there had been great excitement, but it was intensified tenfold by these letters. The authorities were greatly provoked and the lord-lieutenant offered a reward of £300 for the discovery of the author, but no one was base enough to earn the money. At length matters looked so threatening that the patent was withdrawn, a victory that greatly strengthened the hands of the Patriots, and the dean became, beyond question, the most popular man in Ireland.

After the success of the "Drapier Letters" and the cancellation of Wood's patent the Patriots made inquiry into the misappropriation and embezzlement of public funds by officials, whose crimes were winked at by the government in consideration of their support. They asked parliament unpleasant questions about the disposition of the hereditary revenue of the crown, the rapid increase of the amount granted for pensions, and the application of the surplus revenue. Vast sums were wasted on royal favorites, illegitimates and the nominess of the king and his ministers.

The lord-lieutenant spent half his time in England and the government was left in the hands of the lords-justices, who usually were the primate, the lord-chancellor and the speaker of the House of Commons. Archbishop Boulter, who became a lord-



justice in 1726, was the virtual ruler of Ireland for eighteen years, and the reins of government passed from him to Archbishop Hoadly, and afterwards to the ambitious and unscrupulous Archbishop Stone. The Irish Parliament was torn by factions, which the English government played against each other; it was crowded with supple placemen of the government, who were rewarded for their obedient votes; the majority of the House was made up of nominees of the Protestant landlords.

Selfish and unprincipled members of the Patriotic party discovered that the road to advancement and wealth was opened by agitation. Their attacks on the corrupt system were bought off with pensions and positions of emolument. During the last years of the reign of George II. matters were coming to a crisis. The government was entirely in the hands of one of the lords-justices, the unscrupulous Primate Stone, through whose hands the stream of patronage flowed.

The Patriotic party had been growing stronger and stronger. One of its most sturdy leaders was Dr. Lucas, who had incurred the enmity of the government by resisting the interference of the English Parliament in Irish affairs. He was prosecuted in 1749 by the government and fled to England, but when the storm had blown over he returned and was elected to parliament by the City of Dublin. The Patriots also had been joined by the Earl of Kildare, who presented an address to the king, setting forth complaints against the corruption of the government, which were especially leveled at Stone.

In 1755 the English government, disturbed by the cabals and intrigues and by the discontent exhibited at the disregard of Kildare's communication, decided on some radical changes. Several of the agitators were silenced by office, titles and pensions. The remnant of the Patriotic party closed its ranks



and prepared for more radical measures of reform. It formed the nucleus of a genuine national party, whose object was to emancipate the Irish Parliament from the servitude imposed by England.

By the steady insistence on the national claims they at length created and molded a strong public sentiment outside the walls of parliament. "The doctrines of Molyneux, the advocacy of Swift, the agitation of Lucas, had initiated a live policy which, under the guidance of pure and single-minded men, was soon to become an irresistible national impulse."

## CHAPTER LII.

### THE WHITEBOYS, OAKBOYS AND STEELBOYS.

George III. succeeded to the throne in 1760. During the years since the surrender of Limerick the Catholics in Ireland had shown no sign of resistance. There had been a rising in Scotland in 1715 in behalf of the Stuart pretender. Thirty years later a more serious rising occurred, and in the same cause.

In 1745 the English government sent Lord Chesterfield to Ireland as lord-lieutenant to encourage the loyalty of the Catholics by granting them a few concessions. His administration is one of the few bright spots in the dark history of Ireland in the 18th century. Had all viceroys been as calm, reasonable and considerate as Lord Chesterfield in their dealings with the Irish people, the history of the next century might have been very different. But when his rule passed away the temperate policy he pursued also departed, and has rarely been resumed by the long succession of viceroys who have been sent to Ireland.

In 1760, during the seven years' war, an abortive attempt was made by the French to obtain a foothold in Ulster, but the Catholics made no effort to aid or co-operate with them. The feeling against the latter had been growing somewhat less bitter and they began to take heart again, hoping to obtain some little relief. The first movement was made by Dr. Curry, historian of the civil wars in Ireland; Charles O'Connor, a distinguished scholar,

and Mr. Wyse, a merchant. They endeavored to stir up the Catholic clergy and gentry to agitate for their rights, but here their efforts failed, as it was feared that any attempt to obtain justice would make matters worse.

They were more successful with men engaged in commerce and business, and in 1757 ventured to form a "Catholic Committee" to watch over and help on the interests of the Catholic community. This committee was to hold its meetings in Dublin. Its organization revived hope in the breasts of the followers of the ancient faith, and may be regarded as the feeble beginning of the movement for Catholic relief which afterwards became so successful under O'Connell.

The great curse of absenteeism, which for a long time had undermined the prosperity of Ireland, grew to monstrous proportions. It was estimated that at least one-third of the whole rental of Ireland was annually sent to England for the support of absentee landlords, who lived away in London, with no other thought for their Irish properties than the collection of rent. Whole districts were leased to middlemen, who re-let the land to others at exorbitant rents, and these again sublet, this process being repeated till the estate was sometimes underlet five or six times; or the property was managed by stewards and agents, whose orders were to remit the revenues and to spend not a penny in improvements. The country houses fell out of repair; the woods were cut down to increase the revenue; what fencing or reclamation was done was the work of the tenant, and was performed with as little show as possible, lest the keen eye of the agent should detect it and the rent be raised accordingly. The tenant received no encouragement to make the most out of the land. His position was too insecure.

The condition of the peasantry had been grow-

ing rapidly worse. In the old days before the plantations they had been little better than serfs, so autocratic had the clan chiefs and the Anglo-Norman lords become, but the ties of family and old association were strong, one faith was common to both, and the peasant followed his master to danger and death with absolute fidelity.

Even in the case of the earlier planters, common interests had gradually established a friendly feeling between the new landowners and the old tenants. But the later confiscations, especially those after the war of 1791, created a gulf between the old tenants and the still newer landowners which was never bridged. There was no bond of sympathy between them. Of different faiths and different habits, the newer race of landlords were essentially speculators, and, having bought the land as an investment, were determined to make every possible shilling out of their purchase. They cared not to live in Ireland among strangers; all they desired was the rents, and their tenants seldom or never saw their faces.

The landowners, who were largely extending their grass lands, managed to get pasturage exempted from the payment of tithes to the established church, and this hated tribute to an alien church fell wholly on the tillers of the soil. The wretched tenants-at-will were transferred to the tender mercies of the middlemen, who raised their rents to swell their own profits.

Towards the middle of the century the restriction on the importation of cattle, meat, butter and cheese to England was removed, in consequence of a disease which had destroyed English cattle, and the grazing fever set in, as it was found more profitable to graze and raise cattle than to let the land for tillage. As the lands went out of cultivation, "even ale and potatoes were imported from England, as

well as corn." The rate of wages fell to almost nothing; the small farmers and laborers left the country and huddled in the towns. The landlords then inclosed, as private property, large tracts of what hitherto had been common bog and moor, which were used chiefly for grazing, and the wretched peasants, who now counted among their number the descendants of many an old proprietor, who had squatted on what was once his land, were driven from the piece of rough pasture on which they had been accustomed to feed a cow or a pig.

The general lack of employment due to the loss of trade of every kind, owing to the commercial restrictions, had driven the peasantry to depend on the land as almost their sole means of subsistence. At last the people, with the design of redressing their grievances, began to combine in various secret societies, by which the country was for many years disturbed. Of these the most numerous were the Whiteboys (so called because they wore white shirts over their coats when out on their nightly excursions), confined chiefly to the counties of Cork, Tipperary, Limerick and Waterford.

The first rising of the Whiteboys was in 1761, against the inclosure of commons. They traversed the country at night, leveling all the new fences surrounding the common land, and digging up pastures to force tillage. But they were not content with a war against grazing lands and inclosures alone. They proposed to redress all wrongs from which the tenants suffered. Obnoxious persons were frequently tortured and sometimes mutilated, and their cattle houghed. Strong measures were taken by the government to suppress the disorders, but the law was generally powerless. Little evidence could be procured and the juries would seldom convict. The military was called out and patrolled the country. Bodies of volunteers were enrolled by



the resident gentry and many of the Whiteboys were killed. But though order was restored to some extent by these means, the Whiteboys continued in Munster for many years.

While the peasantry of the South were appealing to the law of force, the peasantry of Ulster and the working classes in the towns had resorted to the same expedient. One ground of complaint was that every man was forced to give six days' work in the year and six days' work of a horse, if he had one, in the making and repairing of roads, which the landlords made full use of, while they contributed nothing. Those banded together against this injustice were called Oakboys.

Another secret society, the Steelboys, rose in Ulster, in 1769, against unjust and exorbitant rents of middlemen. Not content with their original object, they set about to redress various abuses pertaining to the land, as the peasantry in the South had done, and they also opposed the payment of tithes to the established church, which lately had been so increased in Ulster. The oppression of the peasantry of the North by the gentry swelled the emigration of the best people to America, begun more than a half century before, and when the war broke out between England and America, some of the most determined troops that fought against the former were the sturdy exiled yeomanry of Ulster and the descendants of those who had emigrated on account of religious persecution and the destruction of the wool industry. There were many other secret societies in Ireland at this time, and long afterwards, culminating at the close of the century in the famous United Irishmen.

Royal commissions were issued to inquire into the causes of the disturbances of the Whiteboys, Oakboys and Steelboys. No relief was given to the latter, whose grievances were against their land-

lords. In the case of the Oakboys, provision was made for the future repair of roads at a rate levied on rich and poor alike. In the case of the Whiteboys, whose grievances were also against the landlords, not only was no step taken to prevent excessive inclosures, but a law was passed making it a felony for more than six persons to assemble at night, or to level fences or dig up pastures, and damages were awarded to the injured parties, to be assessed on the barony in which the offense had been committed.

The peasantry and the small farmers were refused redress and the policy of coercion was carried out, with the natural result that discontent grew into disaffection and revolt. "If the military force," said Lord Chesterfield, "had killed half as many landlords as it had Whiteboys, it would have contributed more effectually to restore quiet. For the poor people in Ireland are worse used than negroes by their masters."

## CHAPTER LIII.

### FLOOD'S LEADERSHIP.

The English party in the Irish Parliament was strong and continued to purchase members by various corrupt means, but the Patriots were tireless and vigilant and gave the government little rest. Pensions constituted the chief form of bribery. Large pensions were given to numbers of members who had done nothing to earn them, and some were bestowed on favorites by the English authorities and charged to Ireland without reference to the Irish Parliament, so that the pension list had grown to enormous proportions.

This corrupt and ruinous pension list was vigorously attacked by the Patriots, under the leadership of Henry Flood. But although he fully exposed the corruption of the pension list, the government proved too strong for him and the evil, so far from abating, continued to increase year by year. The duration of the Irish Parliament at this time excited great interest in Ireland. In England the utmost limit was seven years, at the end of which time parliament, if it continued so long, had to be dissolved and a general election held.

This was a good plan, for if a member acted wrong the electors could put another in his place with little delay. But in Ireland parliament lasted as long as the king wished, and the preceding one continued during the entire reign of George II. This state of things led to flagrant abuses, and several times the Patriots brought in a septennial or

seven years' bill, and the majority in the Irish Parliament agreed to send the measure to the English Council for approval, in accordance with the law. But in each case no notice was taken of the communication.

In 1767 the Patriots once more did the same thing, and in this instance the document was returned from England approved, but with the seven years changed to eight, which was accepted by the Irish Parliament. The passing of this octennial bill was the occasion of much popular rejoicing in Ireland. After this measure had become law there was a dissolution of parliament and a new one was elected. During the election Lord Townshend, the lord-lieutenant, made use of every possible form of bribery, and with much success, to have members returned favorable to his side. But with all his corrupt practices he failed to control the new House of Commons on one important measure.

Both in England and Ireland the House has always jealously preserved to itself the power to originate financial bills—that is, the power to raise money by taxation and to apply it to the expenses of the government, holding that the representatives of the people alone have the right to tax the people. The English Privy Council now sent over a money bill for Ireland, with directions to have it passed by the Irish Parliament, but it was rejected because it did not originate in the House of Commons, which greatly incensed Lord Townshend. Keeping his own counsel, however, he first had parliament pass the usual money supplies for the government, and when these were safe he had the Commons summoned to the bar of the House of Lords, where he lectured them severely for their conduct regarding the money bill and adjourned parliament for fourteen months. He entered a protest in the books of the House of Lords against the rejection of the

bill, but the Commons forbade their clerk to enter it on their books. These proceedings of Townshend, which were considered a mixture of trickery and tyranny, caused great indignation and gave renewed strength to the Patriots.

During this time the Catholics were almost wholly silent. They recently had been granted the right of meeting and petition, of which they were long deprived, and the restoration of which marks the first step in the gradual recovery of their civil rights. There were faint signs of a desire to indulge them a little, but how little may be judged from one small concession. Lord Townshend had an act passed in 1771 which had been often rejected previously, enabling a Catholic to take, on long lease, and reclaim as best he could, fifty acres of bog, and if it were too deep or marshy to build a house on, he was permitted to have half an acre of solid land for that purpose, but the bog should be at least four feet deep and it should not be nearer than a mile to a market town. Townshend, at length growing tired of the ceaseless opposition of the Patriots and the endless stream of hostile criticism in newspapers, pamphlets, ballads and caricatures, resigned in 1772.

During his term of office he did more, perhaps, to corrupt parliament than any of his predecessors, by giving pensions, offices and titles to secure a majority for the government or English party. By this open and constant corruption he managed to control the House and have most of his measures passed. But these proceedings had the effect of consolidating the Patriots and strengthening their determination to overcome the purely English influence and to have Irish affairs managed mainly for the benefit of Ireland, and not solely in the interest of England, as had been the case for nearly a century.



The new viceroy, Lord Harcourt, began his administration by taking an exactly opposite course to that of his predecessor, but ended it by falling into nearly the same errors and abuses. He suggested a bill taxing absentees, which was introduced by Flood, but it was rejected through the influence of the great landowners, many of whom resided permanently in England. The Patriotic party, led by Flood, who was ably seconded by Dr. Lucas, had begun to take definite shape and to become a formidable political power.

Under his leadership the Patriots had made repeated assaults on the corrupt pension list. After they had been defeated again and again, Flood had found more successful means of embarrassing the corrupt systems then prevailing under the government by turning the attention of his party to parliamentary reform. The government was beginning to be troubled by its own greedy placemen, who were always ready to go into the opposition party to serve personal ends.

By taking advantage of the discontent of placemen the Patriots had been able to induce the Irish Parliament to declare that it alone had the power to originate money bills, and to give force and direction to the movement for securing the independence of the Irish Parliament.

"This was the moment," says the Hon. Emily Lawless, "at which Flood stood higher in his countrymen's estimation than was ever again the case. He was identified with all that was best in their aspirations, and no shadow of self-seeking had as yet dimmed the brightness of his fame. It was very different with the next step. Lord Townshend was succeeded by Lord Harcourt, whose administration at first promised to be a shade more liberal and less corrupt than that of his predecessors. Of this administration Flood, to his own misfortune, became

a member. What his motives were it is rather difficult to say. He was a rich man and therefore had no temptation to sell or stifle his opinions for place. Whatever they were, it is clear, from letters still extant, that he not only accepted but solicited office. He was made vice-treasurer, a post hitherto reserved for Englishmen, at a salary of £3,500 a year. Although . . . no actual stain of dishonor attaches to Flood in consequence of this step, there can be no doubt that it was a grave error, and that he lived to repent it bitterly. For the next seven years not only was he forced to keep silence as regards all those points he had previously advocated so warmly, but, as a member of the government, he actually helped to uphold ~~some~~ of the most damaging of the restraints laid upon Irish trade and prosperity."

## CHAPTER LIV.

### GRATTAN'S LEADERSHIP—THE VOLUNTEERS.

England had done her part to ruin the Protestant colony in Ireland. "She had starved its manufactures, destroyed its trade, made a farce of its legislature, billeted all her disreputable dependents upon its revenues, and in order to maintain her grasp she had shamefully plundered it and spent the money in corrupting the guardians of its interests."

She had another colony in North America, which had come into existence largely through the misconduct of the mother country. New England was the result of the bigotry of the established church and was peopled by Puritans and other dissenters, who had fled from persecution. The emigration was largely from Ulster. Since the restoration of Charles II. thousands of Protestant dissenters had been driven from Ireland by the Anglican bishops to the colony across the Atlantic, and more recently the number had been increased by the peasantry who had been evicted by their selfish absentee landlords.

Despite these things the American colonists rendered material assistance in the conquest of the French colony in Canada. This war had greatly increased the English national debt and the government expected that the colonists, in whose defense a large part of the expenditure had been incurred, would contribute towards the payment of the interest. Had they been asked to make a grant for this purpose, likely they would have cheerfully com-

plied, but England required the acknowledgment of the principle that the mother country had the right to tax her colonies without consulting them, and this effort at "taxation without representation" culminated in 1775 in an appeal to arms.

The English settlers in Ireland were watching the struggle with great interest. Their position in many ways was similar to that of the Americans, only it was much harder. Close to England, their chances of successful resistance were slender, for she could land troops on short notice and blockade the harbors with her fleet. The Americans, though defeated many times, carried on a vigorous war, and when Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, France, yearning to revenge herself for the loss of her colonies in Canada, declared war against England.

Spain and Holland soon joined with France and every ship and man that England could spare was now needed for this great struggle. It seems not to have occurred to the English authorities that the English settlers in Ireland could be dangerous. To the last their interests were sacrificed to those of Great Britain. Upon the pretense of overawing the Whiteboys the army had been increased, but of this force over 4,000 had been sent to America, and the actual strength of the regiments remaining in Ireland was only 3,000 men. The army serving against the Americans was to be fed from Ireland, and in order that the government might buy food cheaply the Irish farmers were excluded from all other markets by the levying of a prohibitive export tax upon all provisions from Irish ports.

The result of this action was that ruin fell upon the farmers and that the trade in cured meats was transferred to other countries. The American war had put a stop to the linen trade between Ireland and the colonies, and this wrought disaster to that industry in Ulster. England had broken her

agreements in respect to the woolen trade, for when she destroyed the manufacture of woollens she promised to encourage the manufacture of linens, yet she had done her part to cripple it by giving bounties to her own linen manufacturers and by other means, which had the effect of driving the trade elsewhere.

The embargo was ordered by the English government without consulting Ireland, and this fact, with the misery that had been brought on the country, caused so much discontent in the Irish Parliament that it was dissolved and a new set of more pliant members elected. At the general election there was, as usual, extensive bribery to secure a government majority. In Ireland the people generally sympathized with America, for they felt that the evils from which they had so long suffered were much the same as those against which the Americans had rebelled, and they began to hope that one outcome of the war might be free trade for their own country to relieve them from the prevailing misery. Discussions regarding the injustice done to the Irish trade were carried into the English Parliament by Burke and other friends of Ireland, but a great cry was instantly raised by English manufacturers and merchants against any movement that threatened their own monopolies by relieving the Irish people, and the end of the matter was that only a few small concessions were made.

At this time the penal laws had been relaxed to a great extent, but still they were not repealed and might be enforced at any time. Soon after the European coalition against England a measure was carried in the Irish Parliament partially relieving Catholics of their disabilities. At the same time the embargo was removed, but all the older restrictions on Irish trade still remained, under which it was impossible for the country to prosper. Catholics, on taking the oath of allegiance, were now



allowed to hold leases for 999 years. The lands which were still in their possession were to be subject only to the restrictions imposed on other lessees, and proselytized Protestant children were deprived of the right to plunder and defy their Catholic fathers.

The test act was also abolished, which relieved Dissenters as well as Catholics. Ireland was in a very defenseless state, and though the English government proposed to send 4,000 Protestant soldiers from Germany to replace those drafted to America, the Irish Commons refused to admit them, declaring that the people of Ireland were able to protect themselves without the aid of foreign troops. But now that England was harassed with a ruinous war and was unable to maintain her ascendancy by force, and was even threatened with invasion, Ireland suddenly was placed in a position to assert herself. When the government had drained Ireland of her troops and she was left defenseless and exposed to the attacks of American and French privateers, a proposal was made to raise a national militia, Protestants only to be enrolled. An act was passed for this purpose, but owing to the bankrupt condition of the Irish treasury the plan failed.

The peers, the gentry and leading citizens then, in self-defense, set about raising bodies of volunteers for the protection of the coasts. The call to arms was cheerfully responded to and company after company was raised. The first volunteers were enlisted in Belfast towards the end of 1778. The movement spread rapidly to other parts of Ireland and in a few months 42,000 volunteers were enrolled. The government looked upon them with suspicion, knowing well that the movement would strengthen the Patriots, for it was started by the people and their leaders, independent of the government.

The great questions that were stirring the

heart of every citizen were earnestly discussed by the volunteers. It soon became apparent that the arguments of men with arms at their command have weight, and the movement, which began in an effort to protect the country from invasion, rapidly developed into a means for resisting the English domination. The rank and file of the volunteers were the very people who felt most severely the prevailing distress caused by the suppression of Irish trade, and naturally were bitterly hostile to the government, while their sympathies were entirely with the Patriots. Of this the authorities were well aware, but they dared not attempt to keep down the movement. They had even to go so far as to supply arms, though much against their will, but all other expenses, including uniforms, were borne by the people themselves.

This was at first a strictly Protestant movement, but as time went on Catholics gradually joined the ranks in considerable numbers. The Patriots now had the volunteers at their back, and, just as the government had feared, they assumed a bolder tone, and the knowledge that they were loyal and wanted nothing but the redress of their admitted grievances, added tenfold strength to their demands. Henry Flood had been their leader till he took office under the government, when he lost the confidence of the Patriots, which was now transferred to Henry Grattan, a greater orator and a nobler man.

At the opening of parliament in October, 1779, Grattan moved, as an amendment to the address, that "it was by free export and import only that the nation was to be saved from impending ruin," when Flood, who for years had sat silent on government benches, and grown jealous of the position which Grattan had attained as champion of the people, broke away from "the silken chains of court favor" and suggested that the words "free trade" be sub-

stituted. Grattan accepted the alteration and the amendment was carried unanimously. Dublin was in a state of great excitement and the House of Parliament was surrounded by an immense crowd, shouting for free trade, for now they saw some prospect of relief. The next day, when the speaker, followed by the entire Commons, marched in procession from the parliament building to the castle to present the amended address to the lord-lieutenant, the streets were lined with volunteers, under command of the Duke of Leinster. As the procession advanced it was received with acclaim by the populace, and the volunteers presented arms in honor of the Commons.

The popular excitement was now tremendous. The volunteers were reviewed on College Green and two field pieces were drawn up, labeled "Free Trade or This." The Dublin mob wrecked the house of the attorney-general, who was known to be hostile to the volunteer movement. "Talk not to me of peace," said Walter Hussey Burgh in the Irish Parliament when denouncing the restrictive English statutes. "Ireland is not at peace; it is smothered war. England has sown her laws as dragons' teeth and they have sprung up as armed men."

But to the English Parliament alone, which had imposed the restrictions, belonged the task of removing them. The lord-lieutenant wrote to the English government that the repeal of the trade restrictions must be immediate and complete. Lord Shelburne in the House of Lords, and Edmund Burke in the House of Commons, moved a vote of censure on the government for not granting to Ireland what, now that it was too late, had been offered to America.

In November the English Prime Minister, Lord North, introduced three propositions to relieve Irish

trade. The first permitted free export of Irish wool and woolen goods; the second, free export of Irish glass manufactures; the third allowed free trade to the British colonies. These bills were rapidly passed by both Houses. When the news of this action reached Dublin it was received with every demonstration of joy. The city was illuminated, bonfires blazed, and the cannon of the garrison and the volunteers rivaled each other in firing salutes.

## CHAPTER LV.

### LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE—HOME RULE.

The more the Patriotic party forced the government to restore, the more they were determined to have. They had obtained some relief for trade and they now resolved that their parliament should also be free. In April, 1780, in a great speech, Grattan moved his memorable resolution, that the king and the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power on earth competent to enact laws to bind Ireland. The question, however, was not put to a division.

The next debate was on a bill to maintain and pay the army. In England the army bill is not permanent; it is passed from time to time, lest the army be used by the king or the government as an instrument of oppression, as was the case when kings, with an army at their back, did what they pleased, in defiance of parliament or the people. The army bill for Ireland was passed by the Irish Parliament after a long contest, but when transmitted to the English authorities it was changed to a perpetual bill, the very thing they took care to avoid in England.

In the Irish Parliament it was resolutely opposed and created great excitement and irritation all over the country. Nevertheless, the government party managed to carry it by wholesale bribery, in spite of all opposition. In this instance, as in many another, the action of the government in both England and Ireland, appears to have been singularly



unwise, as it aroused the Irish people at the very time of war with America, France, Spain and Holland. This measure, instead of allaying the spirit of unrest now abroad in the country, only served to intensify it.

Meantime, the enthusiasm for home rule was spreading and the Patriots, led by Grattan, gained strength and confidence by the great increase of the volunteers, who, much against the will of the government, continued to be enrolled all over the country, till at length they numbered 100,000 men. Ireland was now all aglow with excitement, though entirely peaceful, and the people hardly thought or talked of anything but the question of a free parliament. In 1781 numerous meetings were held all over Ireland.

What was more significant, there were reviews of the volunteers everywhere, with the great question always in their thought and speech. In Belfast, Lord Charlemont rode through the crowded streets at the head of his splendid corps. He issued a stirring address, in which he hailed the spirit of freedom that had enabled them, without outside help, to provide against foreign invasion, and looked forward to the achievement of legislative independence. In the fall session of 1781 Grattan again took the lead. He was seconded, with almost equal ability, by Flood, who, having thrown up his government appointment, had been removed from his seat in the Privy Council. He now joined the Patriots and thereby regained much of his former popularity.

During all this session the government was able, by a large distribution of patronage, to maintain a majority, so it would have been useless to introduce a measure for legislative independence. Finally Grattan, despairing of successfully contending in parliament against the forces of corruption, determined that England should hear the voice of a more

powerful pleader. A convention of 242 delegates from the Ulster volunteers assembled at Dungannon in February, 1782. Most of these were men of wealth and position. The proceedings were managed chiefly by Lord Charlemont, Grattan and Flood. Many resolutions were adopted, the more important of which declared that "the king, Lords and Commons of Ireland alone have the right to legislate for the country; that Poynings' law is unconstitutional and a grievance and should be repealed; that the ports of Ireland should be open to all nations not at war with the king, and that as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws."

The resolutions of the Dungannon convention were adopted by all the volunteer corps in Ireland and they formed the basis of the popular legislation that followed. The same day that the Dungannon resolutions were passed, a measure was introduced in the Irish Parliament for the further relief of Catholics, which, after some delay and opposition, was finally passed. Catholics were now allowed to buy, sell and otherwise dispose of lands; the laws against celebrating and hearing mass and forbidding the clergy of that faith to reside in Ireland were repealed; Catholics were now allowed to teach, be guardians of children, and to have a horse worth more than £5.

The next session of parliament was held in April, 1782. Grattan moved an amendment to the usual address. He was not well at the time and when he arose was pale and trembling, but as he proceeded he gathered strength and energy, and his great speech moved the House to extraordinary enthusiasm. The amendment comprised the chief demands of the Patriots, ending with the declaration that the king and the Irish Parliament alone had the right to make laws for Ireland. The

amendment was unanimously adopted. Following these proceedings, in May a resolution for the repeal of "The Sixth of George I." was introduced in the English House of Lords by Lord Shelburne and in the Commons by Fox, to which both agreed. This concession was communicated to the Irish Parliament by the lord-lieutenant towards the end of May.

It was interpreted to mean that England at last acknowledged the independence of the Irish Parliament, over which it renounced all authority, restored to the Irish Lords the right to hear appeals, and in general yielded to all the demands in Grattan's amendments. The news was received in Ireland with great rejoicing, and as an evidence of good-will parliament voted to the British navy 20,000 men and £100,000. It was felt and acknowledged that this legislation was mainly due to Grattan, and in appreciation the Irish Parliament voted him a grant of £100,000. But he would accept only half the amount, and that only after much persuasion.

## CHAPTER LVI.

### GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT.

When the Irish Parliament asserted, in May, 1782, that no constitutional question could ever again arise to interrupt the harmony subsisting between the two countries, it gave assurances which it was hard or impossible to carry out. In the newly created order of things, as well as in the remains of that which had previously existed, there lay concealed the germs of future conflicts.

The pension list, which required the use of Irish funds for the payment of English pensioners, and the corrupting influence of patronage, still flourished, and the great question of electoral reform was as yet unconsidered. By far the greater number of the population, including all the Catholics, were debarred from the exercise of the franchise, as well as from every other political privilege, and it scarcely could be expected that the section of the people which composed an overwhelming majority of the nation should remain quiet under these conditions.

The absence of clearly defined stipulations with regard to the existing relations between the two countries already was beginning to be felt, and this deficiency naturally increased the difficulties experienced in the attempt to bring into unison the legislation of both lands, especially when, as was frequently the case, the interests of the two countries were antagonistic. For the present the Irish Parliament found ample occupation in attending to its

own immediate affairs, as it was of the first importance that the newly acquired constitution should be brought into regular shape and order.

Laws were accordingly passed which formally repealed the perpetual army bill and the Poynings law. Another law established the Supreme Court of Adjudicature and guaranteed the independence of the judges. Flood maintained that it was not sufficient that England had simply renounced all claim to the authority which she formerly exercised over Ireland, as any future British government would be able to assert this claim, and that, therefore, it was Ireland's duty to demand from England an express renunciation of all legislative rights.

He accordingly made a motion in the House of Commons that the opinion of all the Irish judges be taken on the question. With great energy he advocated the view that it was necessary to insist upon a direct and formal renunciation of all such rights. Grattan opposed the motion. It was his opinion that if, at the very moment in which England had withdrawn all her claims, Ireland persisted in demanding a formal renunciation of the same, it would betray a defiant and suspicious spirit and be productive of ill-will between the two countries.

In this view of the question Grattan met with the approval of the House, and consequently Flood's motion was lost. Afterwards Flood introduced his motion in a modified form, but it was defeated, and a resolution presented by Grattan was adopted, which declared that the exclusive right of the Irish Parliament to legislate for Ireland already had been fully, adequately and irrevocably acknowledged by the British Parliament and that, therefore, Flood's motion was unnecessary.

The parliamentary majority was with Grattan, but the mass of the people, and especially the volunteers, supported Flood, whose views were also



generally shared by the legal profession. And so it happened, in a remarkable manner, that Grattan's popularity, which had attained an almost incredible height, began to decline, while Flood, who had long been the object of distrust, once more rose high in popular favor.

Flood's opinion found a powerful supporter in the new viceroy, Lord Temple, who considered it but reasonable that England should make a formal renunciation of those rights which she had actually surrendered, and accordingly, in January, 1783, the English Parliament passed the act of renunciation, declaring Ireland's right to be governed only by the king and the Irish Parliament was "established and ascertained forever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable."

The free Irish Parliament stood greatly in need of reform. Grattan and his followers fully believed that reform would come in due time. With all its shortcomings it encouraged manufacture and trade and developed the natural resources of the country, so that Ireland prospered under its administration, especially the capital and the larger provincial towns. "Once more the warehouses were filled, the looms at work, the harbors gay with ships and the streets noisy with traffic. During the fifteen years that followed many fine houses were built and decorated in Dublin; the quays, the bridges, the law courts and the custom-houses all date from this short time of prosperity."

Of the 300 members of the Irish Parliament, more than 100 were pensioners of the government or held government positions, all of whom voted as they were directed by the authorities. Nearly all the boroughs were in the hands of a few lords and rich men, most of them on the side of the government, so that any man might become a member of parliament by paying a sum of money to some bor-

ough owner, who then ordered the people to elect him, all of which was a money-making business, for sometimes a person who wanted to hold office paid as much as £10,000 for his seat. A parliament should consist of members elected by the free votes of those who have the right to vote, but of the 300 members of this parliament, not more than seventy or eighty were elected by the free votes of the people.

This was a bad condition of affairs, but it was difficult to remedy, for these placemen and borough owners, and those whom they elected, were the very men who had in their hands the making, altering and repealing of the laws. Then again, the spurious boroughs formed in the time of the Stuarts still existed, many of which contained only about a dozen electors, and it always was easy, by merely spending a little money in bribery, to have members returned who would support the government in anything. But perhaps the worst feature was that the Catholics were entirely shut out. The parliament did not represent the nation, nor did it represent even the small Protestant portion of it.

Although parliament, after 1782, had the name of being independent of the English government, it really was not, for the Irish authorities were directly under the influence of the English Council, which could usually secure a majority in the Irish Parliament. The government of Ireland was, in fact, a sort of oligarchy, in which the people had but little voice. Three great questions were now before the country: Parliamentary reform, the removal of the restrictions which still remained on Irish commerce, and Catholic emancipation.

It was a generally accepted opinion among members of the Irish Parliament that so long as the volunteers were content with the honor of preserving the tranquillity of the country and defend-

ing it from foreign foes, they were worthy of all praise, but that with the close of the war with America their mission was ended, and that now, since they had transformed themselves into debating societies, their influence was dangerous rather than helpful.

The volunteers, on the other hand, maintained that every concession relating to the internal policy of the country which had been wrung from England was owing chiefly to their action, and not to that of the parliament. They held, therefore, that it would be dishonorable on their part to lay down their arms so long as there was yet hope of gaining further advantages for the nation. They now began to direct their attacks against the parliament itself, on the ground that a large proportion of its members were dependent on the government, and, in many cases, directly in its pay; and that, instead of being popular representatives, they were in the habit of betraying the interests of their country.

With these evils the volunteers felt themselves called upon to grapple, hence they took up the all-important question of parliamentary reform: to put an end to corruption and to secure the election of members of parliament by the free votes of the people. They entered upon this new task with enthusiasm. Committees were formed on every hand and large meetings were held for the discussion of the question, which were attended by delegates from the various associations.

A convention of delegates from all the volunteer corps of Ireland was arranged to be held in Dublin November 10, 1783. This proceeding was very annoying to the government, which wanted no reform of any kind in the parliamentary representation. The necessity for retrenchment in the civil administration, which had grown unnecessarily costly through the corruption of government, was strongly

advocated by Grattan, but Flood proposed a reduction in the army, in which the House was against him. Grattan also opposed the proposal with much energy.

The early days of this session of parliament witnessed the completion of the breach between Grattan and Flood, the rival leaders of the Patriots in the House. An estrangement had been gradually growing up between these two great men. The Patriots in the House had long regarded Flood with suspicion, and many looked upon him as a renegade in consequence of his former acceptance of high office under the government. Flood, on his part, could not forget that he had been supplanted by Grattan, a man much younger than himself, and that, from having been the most prominent member of parliament, he was now forced to occupy a secondary position, while Grattan felt aggrieved at his rival's close alliance with the volunteers, which threatened to rob him of his popularity in the country.

It needed, therefore, but a slight cause to transform the small rift into an open breach. There were other differences between them. Grattan advocated the disbandment and dispersal of the volunteers; Flood wanted them kept in existence. Grattan urged that their work was done and that their presence was a menace to the newly acquired liberties; Flood believed that their co-operation was still needful for further securing Irish liberty. Grattan was the steady advocate of Catholic emancipation; Flood was strongly opposed to it.

In one of the debates there occurred a very bitter and lamentable altercation between Grattan and Flood, which terminated their friendship. In this debate Flood taunted Grattan with the gift presented to him by the nation, describing him as a "mendicant patriot." Grattan replied in a crushing speech,



in which he sketched the political life of his assailant in the darkest colors, being especially severe on him for having supported the measure which sent 4,000 Irish troops to America. "A champion against the rights of America," he cried, "the only hope of Ireland and the only refuge of the liberties of mankind." Such a quarrel between such men was the more to be regretted because each had the same end in view, and each had special qualifications for furthering that end which were not possessed by the other. Yet, afterwards, each bore generous testimony to the greatness of the other.

One hundred and sixty delegates from the collective volunteer forces of Ireland assembled in the Rotunda at Dublin, November 10, 1783, consisting for the most part of men of high rank and position. They elected as president their old and tried leader, Lord Charlemont. The meeting was held while parliament was in session close by, and although there was unanimity in the assembly as to the necessity for reform, there was a vast difference of opinion as to the methods to be employed for its accomplishment. Many were especially anxious to extend the suffrage to Catholics, but Charlemont and Flood were resolutely opposed to such a step.

Both of these leaders always had been willing to relax the severities of the penal laws, but they were, at the same time, opposed to conferring on the Catholics political privileges. In this view they were supported by a majority of the convention. After much discussion certain reforms were agreed to, which were introduced into parliament by Flood in the form of a bill. The debate was a stormy one. Yelverton, the attorney-general, led the opposition to the measure, at the same time denouncing vehemently the attempt to coerce parliament by an armed body of men, and Fitzgibbon, the leading opponent of reform, and others followed in the same



strain. Flood, in a fine speech, advocated the bill and defended the action of the volunteers. Grattan supported it, though he thought it was not the time to bring the measure forward, and Curran made his first parliamentary speech in favor of it. But the government party was too strong and the reforms were defeated.

The result produced great indignation and there were fears of a serious collision between the volunteers and the government. But the counsel of Lord Charlemont prevailed and the volunteer convention adjourned. This was, in fact, the last important meeting of the volunteers, and though they held together for a considerable time and continued to be enrolled, they never afterwards played an important part in the political affairs of Ireland.

The following year Flood made another attempt at reform, and again he was supported by Grattan, but the Irish government successfully resisted all attempts at improvement. The volunteers, deserted by their leaders, now formed themselves into clubs and associations and held secret meetings. In the leading cities they began to drill men in the use of arms, Catholics as well as Protestants, whereupon the government increased the army to 15,000 men and took measures to revive the militia and make it a force in the service of the crown. But the people hated the militia and the country became greatly disturbed. Scenes of violence occurred everywhere. Even in Dublin mobs marched through the streets, attacked soldiers, broke into shops, and ill-treated those who sold English goods.

The commercial arrangements between England and Ireland needed reform almost as much as did the Irish Parliament, for the laws regarding imports and exports were all unfair to Ireland. There were still exorbitant duties on many kinds of Irish goods exported to England, but little or no tax on English

goods imported into Ireland; hence, while English manufacturers and traders had free scope to sell their goods in Ireland, the Irish could not dispose of their products in England. This tended to repress what remained of Irish manufactures and to keep the country in a condition of poverty.

A movement was now made to remedy this, and here the Irish government was on the side of reform, though its ideas fell far short of those of the Patriots. A measure designed by Pitt, which would go far toward removing the injustice, was introduced in the Irish Parliament by the government and passed. It was immediately transmitted to England for adoption, as, the restrictions having been imposed by the English Parliament, it was in England only that they could be removed. But when the measure was proposed by Pitt there arose violent opposition, and petitions against it poured in from all parts of England, protesting against any change.

Pitt then abandoned this measure and brought in another, which was less favorable to Ireland, and had it passed. On being transmitted to the Irish Parliament in August, 1785, it was received by the Patriots with an outburst of indignation. Grattan denounced the measure in one of his finest speeches and Flood attacked it with all his old-time fire and energy. After a stormy all-night debate the government had so small a majority that it was deemed prudent to withdraw the bill, which caused great rejoicing in Dublin.

## CHAPTER LVII.

### THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

The Catholics were still held down by the penal laws, and the farmers were harassed by middlemen. But tithes and tithe collectors were perhaps the leading influence for disturbance during the first years of Grattan's parliament. All householders, Catholics and Dissenters, as well as Anglicans, had to pay tithes for the support of the clergy of the established church.

These tithes probably would have been quietly paid but for the action of the collectors, who gathered them for absentee clergymen, or for those who were resident but who, for various reasons, were unwilling personally to collect them. These collectors usually received a fixed percentage of the tithes for their services, thus making it to their interest to raise as much money as possible, and they were accustomed to extort from the poor peasantry contributions far beyond what the law warranted.

As grazing lands were exempt, the tithes fell chiefly on the poor cotters. A rich grazier paid no tithes, while a half-starved cotter had to pay them on his little plot, and this, of course, discouraged tillage and tended to make grass land of the whole country. The people of all faiths also had to pay church-rate, a tax to keep the established churches in repair. The payment of tithes and church-rate was resented by the Dissenters as bitterly as by the Catholics. Although it would not have been difficult to provide a substitute for tithes, the Irish gov-

ernment obstinately resisted every attempt to settle the matter, in spite of the earnest efforts of Grattan and his party.

During 1785-86 Ireland was fearfully disturbed and the peasantry formed secret societies for self-protection. In Munster there was a revival of the Whiteboys under the name of "Rightboys." These desperate men fell upon agents, middlemen, tithe collectors and others. The tithe collectors, who had made themselves especially odious by their cruel exactions, were pursued mercilessly, often tortured and maimed, and sometimes killed. Another class, the curates of the established church, who remained to bear the odium for which their superiors were responsible, and striving to live on £40 or £50 a year, often suffered ill-treatment. They were attacked by the Rightboys, and, with their wives and children, driven out of their homes. Many fled to the towns, the few who remained living under military protection.

In Ulster another secret society had grown up among the Protestants, called "Peep-o'-day Boys," afterwards known as "Protestant Boys" and "Wreckers." These directed their hostilities against Catholics, who, in self-defense, formed themselves into bands called "Defenders." These two parties, composed generally of the lowest class of the peasantry, did great damage, fought, tortured and killed each other. So serious were the disorders that bodies of volunteers were revived for the purpose of maintaining peace, but this made matters worse, as they took the side of the Protestant combatants and occupied themselves in disarming the Defenders, while the Protestant judges showed a like partiality. The Defenders retaliated whenever and wherever they could, and the feeling of the two parties grew rapidly into one of intense bitterness.

The government was very much alarmed at the



state of the country, and there were long and anxious discussions as to the best means of restoring peace. Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, who was now the leading influence against remedial measures of any kind, attempted to put down the disturbances by causing the government to pass a drastic coercion law giving the authorities more power to arrest and punish the disturbers.

Grattan, convinced of the necessity for some such measure, wished for one much less severe, and succeeded in having stricken from the bill some very dangerous clauses and limiting its duration to three years. He also endeavored to have a parliamentary inquiry into the causes of the discontent and disorders, with a view to their remedy, but he was overruled, and his "engine of redress," as he called it, was rejected.

The Patriots in parliament continued as vigilant and active as ever and gave the government great trouble. The usual means were employed to overcome their influence. Probably at no previous period was there so much political corruption as during the administration of Buckingham, the lord-lieutenant from 1787 to 1790. He bribed openly and unsparingly wherever he thought it would purchase supporters for the government party, and he dismissed all holders of office under the government who showed a disposition to oppose him. Many persons were made peers and baronets and numbers of peers were promoted, and a large amount was added to the pension list, which had grown to the enormous sum of £100,000 annually. Finally Buckingham became so unpopular that when he retired from office he deemed it prudent to steal away from Dublin in the night.

During 1790 Ulster was far more disturbed than Munster. The Peep-o'-day Boys and the Defenders increased and extended and continued their out-



rages. Among the influential classes, who saw no hope of reform by parliamentary means, the doctrines of the French Revolution found many supporters. Committees were formed to stem the tide of political corruption and to discuss the best methods of government. Many members of the Patriotic party who had been leaders in the volunteers, formed themselves into clubs which greatly influenced public opinion, of which the Whig Club in Dublin and the Northern Whig Club in Belfast were especially noted. Both of these clubs included in their membership many historic personages. They unsparingly exposed the evil system of the government, but, safe in its pensioned and corrupt majority, it continued its course unchained.

Ireland, like the other nations of Europe, was at this time agitated by the stirring events that were taking place in France. It had seen a bankrupt and worn-out nobility compelled to call for assistance from their misgoverned subjects. It had seen an enthusiastic national assembly come to the rescue and take the government into its own hands, and the king, but yesterday an absolute monarch, obliged to make the best of his position and consent to govern by the will of the people.

The highest hopes for France were entertained by the English Whigs, who were ardent sympathizers in her early efforts. In Ireland, where a bloodless revolution already had taken place, the progress of the French struggle was followed with great interest. In July, 1791, the Northern Whig Club celebrated the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, the great government prison in Paris, with processions, reviews and a banquet, where toasts were drank to "The Revolution," "The National Assembly of France," and "The Rights of Man." But the new ideas of the French Revolution had penetrated farther than to the leaders of the Patriots.

They were canvassed by all classes, and especially by the younger members of the Irish bar. They were eagerly seized upon by the remnant of the Ulster volunteers and the political clubs that had sprung from them.

The steady sympathy shown for America by the Dissenters had led to the growth of liberal ideas in the manufacturing towns of the North, and associations were formed with the object of promoting parliamentary reform and extending the franchise to the Catholic population. These proceedings gave great uneasiness to the government, which, with the example of France before it, looked on such movements with apprehension.

Theobald Wolfe Tone, a man of great determination, unselfish, and of remarkable persuasive power, was one of the prominent leaders of public opinion at this time. Though a Protestant, he was appointed secretary to the Catholic committee in Dublin, which brought the Catholics into closer relations with the Dissenters. He conceived the idea of uniting the Catholic interest with the radical reformers of the North, and accordingly wrote a pamphlet on this scheme. He visited Belfast in 1791 and founded in October of that year the "Society of United Irishmen," the objects of which were to unite the people of all classes and religions in one great organization, to reform parliament so as to obliterate the corrupting influence of the government, and to remove the grievances of all Irishmen, regardless of creed.

The aim was to repeal all laws against Catholics and Dissenters, the leaders believing that if the people as a whole were united their demand for reform would not be ignored. Tone next formed a branch of the society in Dublin, under the auspices of the Catholic committee. James Napper Tandy, a Protestant merchant of Dublin, was appointed its

secretary. Notwithstanding the prevailing unrest and disorder, business of every kind was extending and the country was rapidly advancing in prosperity.

This was attributable to various causes, among which were the removal of the most ruinous of the restrictions on trade, the relief the Catholics from their worse grievances, which enabled them to invest their capital and engage in business and commerce, and the comparative freedom of parliament, which materially aided in the development of the resources of the nation.

## CHAPTER LVIII.

### PARTIAL EMANCIPATION OF THE CATHOLICS.

It was inevitable that the widespread dissemination of the doctrines which led to the French Revolution should have a marked influence upon the Catholic population of Ireland. While the principles of liberty and equality were being enunciated on every hand the Catholics of Ireland were acutely reminded of the fact that they still were debarred from the exercise of the franchise, that they still were oppressed by numberless burdens and restrictions, hence the time naturally appeared opportune for making an attempt to obtain a removal of these disabilities.

Accordingly, in February, 1791, a committee was organized in Dublin, whose business it was to undertake the agitation necessary for the attainment of the objects sought. Various circumstances were favorable to the aim of the Irish Catholics. It was an event decidedly in their favor that at this time a bill was passed by the English Parliament admitting Catholics to municipal offices, to the bar, and to the lesser government positions. What had been granted to the English Catholics could not reasonably be denied to the Irish Catholics.

The support that came to them from their old friend in England, Edmund Burke, was of material advantage. He still was as ardent a defender of the Catholics as formerly, when by pen and speech he had first advocated Catholic emancipation. Burke's support at this time was the more significant in that he

had just published his celebrated book on the French Revolution, which had been the means of completely severing his connection with the Whig party. Thereafter he was a favorite with the king and the aristocracy, and consequently greater weight was attached to his advocacy of the Catholic cause in government circles than hitherto had been the case. But his efforts were not confined to a mere vindication of the claims of Catholics among the ruling classes of England. He also sent his son Richard to Dublin in order that, as secretary to the Catholic committee, he might be able to render assistance to that body in any steps it might take for the accomplishment of Catholic emancipation.

At this critical moment, however, a division occurred among the Catholics which threatened their cause. The circumstance that several members of the committee had entered into relations with the leaders of the United Irishmen now occasioned certain Catholic noblemen, headed by Lord Kenmare, to cease their connection with the committee, and also to present an address to the lord-lieutenant, in December, 1791, in which they repudiated all association with the radical element on the committee and declared that they looked solely to the political wisdom of the government for the amelioration of their grievances.

Thus at the very time when it was imperative that union should be maintained, the Catholics were divided into two parties, an aristocratic and a democratic party. The former included the Catholic nobility and bishops, who looked with horror on the French Revolution and its excesses and were inclined to be timid in agitating for their own emancipation. The democratic party consisted chiefly of business men, of whom the ablest was John Keogh, a Dublin merchant. This party advocated pressing the Catholic claims boldly, including the right to vote, which



the aristocratic element wished to postpone to some future time.

In December, 1792, the committee convened a meeting of Catholics from different parts of Ireland in Back Lane, Dublin (from which this assembly is sometimes called the "Back Lane Parliament"), at which a petition to the king was proposed, asking for admission to all the rights and privileges of citizenship. Many of the seceders had rejoined the committee. The petition was signed by Dr. Troy, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; by Dr. Moylan, Catholic Bishop of Cork, and by all the country delegates.

As they had good reason to believe that the English government was better disposed towards them than the Irish, they commissioned John Keogh and four other delegates to present the petition to the king direct instead of following the usual course of sending it through the Irish authorities. On their way the delegates passed through Belfast, where they were given a grand reception. The Presbyterian populace unhitched the horses from their carriage and drew Keogh and his companions in triumph through the streets. In January, 1793, the petition was presented to King George III., who received it graciously.

Meanwhile Burke had issued his celebrated letter "On the Subject of the Roman Catholics in Ireland," in which he severely criticised former legislation and characterized it as being at variance with the laws of nature and of nations, and opposed both to the constitution and the interests of Ireland, at the same time making a stirring appeal in favor of Catholic emancipation. This letter, in the form of a pamphlet, was widely circulated throughout England and Ireland and was the means of gaining many new friends for the cause.

Numerous petitions were now addressed to the

Irish House of Commons praying for the granting of further privileges to the Catholics. One petition, signed by six hundred Protestants of Belfast, demanded that the Catholics be placed on a perfect equality with the Protestants, a fact that clearly indicated the spread of the principles inculcated by the United Irishmen.

Some slight concessions, under pressure, had been made to the Catholics during 1792 by the Irish government. The prohibition against mixed marriages was removed; they were allowed to practice at the bar, to employ as many apprentices as they desired, and to erect schools without being compelled to obtain the permission of the Anglican bishops. The energetic action of the Catholics under Keogh aroused great excitement among the ultra-Protestants in the Irish Parliament, in whose eyes the augmented committee appeared to be a kind of revolutionary club.

William Pitt, the English statesman, and a majority of the English cabinet were not so short-sighted as Fitzgibbon and the other officials at the head of the Irish government. In the dangerous state of things on the continent, with the spread of sympathy in Ireland for the French Revolution, and while a war with France was quite probable, it was considered of great importance that the Catholics be not disaffected towards the government. If only for the sake of tranquillity, it was deemed advisable to make further concessions to the Catholics.

When Keogh returned to Ireland he was impressed with the conviction that no opposition would be offered by the British government to the complete emancipation of the Catholics. In a speech from the throne with which the lord-lieutenant opened the Irish Parliament in January, 1793, special reference was made to the Catholics of the country in an official document, in which "his majesty confides

the consideration of this matter to the wisdom and liberality of his parliament." This passage naturally aroused the indignation of Fitzgibbon, who recently had been elevated to the peerage under the title of Lord Clare, as well as of other leaders of the Anglican Church party, revealing, as it did, that the principles which they professed suddenly had been disavowed in England. Nevertheless, the address in reply to the speech, which was supported by Grattan, and expressed the readiness of the House to proceed to the work of Catholic emancipation, obtained the assent of the majority. In the House of Lords the opposition to the bill was led by Lord Clare, who prophesied that the final consequence of the measure would be the complete separation of Ireland from England.

In April, 1793, mainly through the influence of Burke and the English government, aided by the powerful advocacy of Grattan and his party, but much against the wish of the Irish government, a bill was passed by the parliament of Ireland which granted to the Catholics a substantial measure of relief. The franchise was restored to them, so that all who were forty shilling freeholders had the right to vote for members of parliament, and as these freeholders had grown very numerous, this enactment gave the Irish Catholics considerable influence. They were also permitted to enter Trinity College, Dublin, and take degrees; many civil and military positions were opened to them; they could serve as jurors and justices of the peace, and the higher class of Catholics were permitted to carry arms. An effort was made to insert a clause allowing them to sit in parliament, but this provision the Irish government succeeded in defeating.

But many disabilities remained, the more important of which were, aside from being debarred from sitting in parliament, that no Catholic could

be lord-lieutenant, or lord-chancellor, or a privy councilor, or a fellow of Trinity College, or sheriff. Still, the measure was a great relief and the Catholics were very thankful for it. While Catholic emancipation had thus advanced one step, parliamentary reform, which was the second important question of the hour, was being strenuously resisted by the Irish government.

The pension list, however, which had gradually attained to enormous proportions, was reduced to £80,000 and the king was provided with a fixed civil list. In the same session of parliament two coercion bills were passed: The "gunpowder act," which prohibited the importation and sale of arms and gunpowder, and rendered their possession dependent on a special license, was intended to disarm the volunteers, while at the same time it was aimed at the agrarian bands in the North. It was intended as a precaution against the danger of invasion, for France and England were at this time at war and the sympathy of the United Irishmen for the French revolutionary party was well known to the authorities. The "convention act," which forbade the holding of meetings for the purpose of drawing up petitions to the king or parliament, and which prohibited the election of delegates to such meetings, was directed against the reform plans of the United Irishmen, and at the same time it struck a blow at the peaceful efforts of the Catholic committee. Its purpose also was to prevent meetings of delegates such as the "Back Lane Parliament."

The "convention act" was a virtual abolition of the right to hold meetings and present petitions, and it was carried by a large majority in July, 1793. It was characterized by Grattan as an utterly unconstitutional measure and as the boldest step towards the introduction of martial law.



## CHAPTER LIX.

### EFFORTS FOR COMPLETE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

Ever since the concession of independence to the Irish Parliament an opinion had been forming in England that it would be to the advantage of Great Britain if the Irish Parliament were altogether suppressed and a legislative union effected between the two countries.

At the beginning of the 18th century, when the parliament of Ireland petitioned to be incorporated with the British Parliament, the latter paid no attention to the proposal. Later a strong feeling had grown up in Ireland unfavorable to the idea of a union. So intense was the feeling in Dublin that in 1759, when the plan was debated in the Irish Parliament, mobs stopped the members in the streets and compelled them to swear never to consent to such a union. They broke into the House of Lords when the House was not sitting, placed an old woman on the throne, and searched for the journals, that they might commit them to the flames. Now that the Irish Parliament had freed itself from England's veto, the idea of a union was still more obnoxious to the Irish.

In England, where the trading classes dreaded Irish competition, it was otherwise. They believed that if the parliaments could be united all competition would be effectually checked. English public men were beginning to exhibit an unworthy and unreasonable jealousy of Irish independence and to grudge what had been conceded. Pitt, it would



seem, looked forward with some anxiety to a disagreement between the two parliaments and early contemplated the absorption of the parliament of Ireland.

In the summer of 1794 the moderate Whigs, or Liberals, in England, alarmed at the violent course of the radical oligarchy in France, which had usurped control of the French government, deserted their party and formed a coalition with Pitt. Among the number were Edmund Burke, the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam. The price of their adhesion on the question of the French war was the adoption of Burke's policy on the Catholic question in Ireland. Burke and Fitzwilliam were for total emancipation of the Catholics—the right to sit in parliament and the removal of all other restrictions. It was upon their exclusion from these privileges that the Protestant ascendancy rested. It had been held up by artificial means for a hundred years. Burke believed that the time had come when the admission of Catholics to equal rights with Protestants would unite the Irish nation, which henceforth would be a source of strength to England instead of a source of danger.

This, apparently, was not the opinion of the Protestants, who were violently opposed to concessions of any kind. Grattan and his party held with Burke. Pitt seemed convinced; at least, he was willing to try the experiment, as, in case of failure, he calculated on carrying out his favorite scheme of legislative union. In August, Grattan, George and William Ponsonby and Sir John Parnell went over to England to arrange matters with Pitt. Regarding the question of emancipation, Pitt told Grattan that "it would not be brought on as a government measure, but if the government were pressed they would yield."

The minds of the people of Ireland became

greatly excited when it was known that Pitt had decided to adopt the policy of conciliation, to drop coercion, and to grant the Catholics complete emancipation. Lord Fitzwilliam, a just and liberal man, having large estates in Ireland, went over as lord-lieutenant in January, 1795, with full authority to completely emancipate the Catholics. When he reached Dublin there was general rejoicing and he was received with great enthusiasm.

There was to be a complete change of men and measures and the government of Ireland was to be intrusted to the leaders of the Irish Patriotic party. The proposed measure would, it was believed, attach the great majority of the Catholics to the empire, a thing considered of vital importance, for the French, at this time, were everywhere victorious, and there were fears of a French invasion. Innumerable addresses and petitions poured in from Catholics and Protestants alike from every part of Ireland. One of the strongest addresses in favor of the measure came from the Protestant corporation of Derry.

"Not to grant cheerfully," wrote the new lord-lieutenant, "all that the Catholics wish, will not only be exceedingly impolitic but perhaps dangerous. In doing this no time is to be lost. The disaffection among the lower orders is universal." Fitzwilliam at once removed Edward Cooke from the post of under-secretary, and also John Beresford, the commissioner of customs, whose relatives held most of the lucrative positions in his department. Both of these officials had been identified with the system Lord Fitzwilliam had come over to destroy.

Attorney General Wolfe and Solicitor General Toler were told that they would have to give way to George Ponsonby and Curran. Grattan refused office, but gave general support to the new administration. In joy of the good news parliament, on motion of Grattan, voted £200,000 for the ex-

penses of the navy in the war with France and 20,000 men for the army.

Grattan, having previously arranged the matter with the lord-lieutenant, brought in a bill in February for the admission of Catholics to parliament, and there was almost unanimous agreement on the question in the House. But an unexpected difficulty arose which disconcerted all the plans for reform and blighted the hopes of the country. A small but powerful faction in Dublin, led by Fitzgibbon, Beresford and Cooke, took determined steps to defeat the bill. Beresford went over to England and had an interview with the king, to whom he made bitter complaints, in which he worked upon his fears for the safety of the Protestant religion.

Fitzgibbon submitted an elaborate statement to show that the king could not consent to the measure without breaking his coronation oath. While this was taking place in England, Fitzwilliam was permitted to proceed openly with the measure in Dublin. But when the whole country was in a state of expectancy, and after the large supplies had been voted, Pitt completely reversed his policy, the king refused his assent, without which no bill could become law, orders were sent to Dublin to stop the measure, and the whole matter came to an end. Pitt had but recently said that he would not risk a rebellion in Ireland on such a question as Catholic emancipation. He was, moreover, fully aware of the critical condition of the country, but he did not venture to remonstrate when the narrow-minded king was obstinate, and he did not resign.

All sorts of excuses were made for the change of front, such as "Fitzwilliam had misconceived and exceeded his instructions," "it would lead to consequences which could not be contemplated without horror and dismay," and "the king has the right to remove and dismiss whom he pleases."

Emancipation was abandoned, Beresford and his friends were restored, and the old policy of hostility to Catholics was resumed. The body of the Catholics had been led to believe that the bill on which their highest hopes were concentrated would be carried by the government. The Irish Commons had been led to believe that Lord Fitzwilliam, with a changed system, would repeal all obnoxious laws. A reform bill, it was admitted on all sides, would be the necessary corollary of emancipation; and on the strength of these promises the House had voted the generous sum for the navy and the large force for the army.

The country felt that it had been duped. The cup which had been placed to its lips had been dashed to the ground, and the hopelessness of despair settled on the hearts of those who had fondly believed that a new order of things was about to be inaugurated. Catholics and Dissenters alike deplored the act of the British government. Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled and left Ireland in March. It was a day of general gloom. The shops in Dublin were closed, all business was suspended, and the city put on mourning. The parting viceroy's carriage was drawn through the streets by the leading citizens.

The king's objections to emancipation were generally given as the reason for the sudden change of front, but not a few believed that the whole scheme was engineered by Pitt simply to obtain large supplies from the Irish Parliament.

On the arrival in Dublin of Lord Camden, Fitzwilliam's successor, Fitzgibbon's carriage was followed by a threatening mob, stones were thrown, and he escaped with difficulty serious injury. The mob then turned to attack the houses of Beresford and the speaker of the House of Commons, and were only dispersed by the militia. All hope either



of emancipation or parliamentary reform had vanished. Fitzgibbon and Protestant ascendancy had won the day, and the old coercive system remained. The administration of Lord Camden was marked by only one measure favorable to the Catholics—the founding of the college at Maynooth.

During the time of the persecution the Catholic clergy were educated on the continent, great numbers of them at the colleges of St. Omer and Douay, in France. But in the time of the French Revolution these institutions had been swept away, and in view of this fact Archbishop Troy of Dublin, in the name of the entire Catholic clergy of Ireland, presented a petition to the lord-lieutenant, in which he dwelt upon the urgent necessity that existed in that country for colleges and requested permission to erect an institution for the education of the Catholic clergy.

Pitt considered that the grant would tend to make them loyal to the government, and it was therefore determined, in 1795, to found the Catholic College of Maynooth and to endow it with an annual grant of £8,000. The college was opened in October, 1795, with fifty students.

Meanwhile in Ulster, where fanaticism and political excitement were rampant, the agrarian bands continued to increase in strength, and notwithstanding the exceptional legislation which was employed against them they committed greater excesses than ever. With the object of restoring tranquillity in that province the government, immediately after the opening of parliament in January, 1796, brought in an "indemnity bill," which aimed at securing from possible prosecution any servant of the state who, in his efforts to quell disturbances, might overstep the limits of the law.

The next step was to arm the executive with the powers of a fresh coercion act. An "insurrec-



tion bill" was introduced, which was intended to invest officials with fuller powers for the suppression of outrages. This act, which was passed by an overwhelming majority, conferred upon the officials the right to declare a county to be in a state of insurrection, and empowered them to intrude into any house in search of arms, and to imprison every person found abroad between sunset and sunrise. The result of this measure was to make English rule in Ireland more hateful and to drive fresh recruits into the ranks of the United Irishmen.

The independent parliament was little more than a farce. Not one-quarter of its members were chosen by the people, the remainder being a venal crew of placemen paid to pass measures dictated by the British government. Reform was hopeless and independence but a name. Disheartened and weary, many of the Patriots failed to attend the sittings of parliament in 1796. The next year Grattan and his party made one last effort to induce the government to temper coercion with conciliation. They had taken the important step of ascertaining from some of the leaders of the United Irishmen what measure of reform would be acceptable to them, and the latter declared that the following concessions would satisfy them:

"A full representation of the people of Ireland, without any religious distinction, based upon a property qualification which parliament should determine; equal electoral districts, each containing six hundred houses and returning two members; and a provision that Roman Catholics should be equally eligible with Protestants to seats in the House of Commons and all offices of state."

This they asserted would put an end to agitation. A reform bill was accordingly prepared embodying these very reasonable demands. But the House of Commons, which was merely the tool of

the government, defeated the bill by an overwhelming majority. Grattan had made his last effort. He felt that reform was hopeless and that the position of his party had been reduced to an absurdity. Determined not to be an accomplice in the future conduct of parliament, and fearing that further opposition, which could have no result, would only lend encouragement to the United Irishmen, he decided to resign from the House of Commons. Most of his party followed his example.

"We have offered you our measure," the great leader said during the debate. "You will reject it. We deprecate yours. You will persevere. Having no hope left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more; and from this day we shall not attend the House of Commons." He kept his word. A general election was at hand. With half the country under martial law, the remainder agitated by the prospect of invasion, and all the Protestant ascendancy worked up to the highest pitch of excitement, Grattan saw that a general election would be little more than a farce.

Accordingly, he refused to offer himself for re-election by the citizens of Dublin. He bade farewell to his constituents and retired for a season to his house in County Wicklow. Lord Henry Fitzgerald, Grattan's colleague, also refused to stand again for Dublin, and Curran, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor and others followed his example. A few Patriots, hoping against hope, were, however, returned to man the last redoubt of the constitution. Of these the most conspicuous was William Conyngham Plunket, a constitutionalist of the school of Edmund Burke.

The United Irishmen now rapidly increased in numbers. The persecuted Catholics of Ulster, hopeless of protection under the law, turned to this dar-

ing association for redress. Even some of the advanced and ardent reformers in parliament, having lost all hope of constitutional reform, took the desperate and final step of appealing to force to right those wrongs which peaceful agitation proved powerless to redress. Thus the friends of liberty were gradually, step by step, advancing towards democracy.









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